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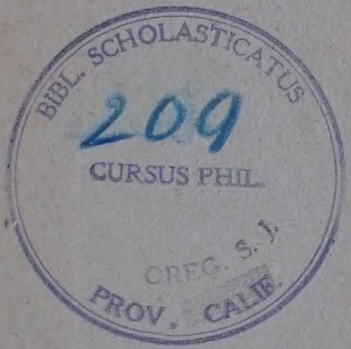
BIBL. SCHOLASTICATUS
209
CURSUS PHIL.
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LECTURES ON
THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

VOLUME IV

CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY
69 SOUTHWARK BRIDGE ROAD, LONDON, S.E.

B. HERDER
17 SOUTH BROADWAY, ST. LOUIS, MO., U.S.A.

1914

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EASTERN CHURCHES

By Adrian Fortescue

I. The State of Eastern Christendom

The division of Christendom into East and West is convenient and sufficiently scientific. On the basis of the order of five patriarchates—Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem—we may explain it by saying that Rome is the West, all the others make up the East. Add to this that schismatical churches belong to that half in which they arose, and the situation is defined exactly.

Most people now know more about modern geography than the limits of the patriarchates. To make it clear to them we must trace a line down the middle of the Adriatic Sea, continue it southward so as to cut off Egypt from the rest of Africa, northward so as to cut Russia from Poland, and pass through Austria-Hungary well to the east. West of that line is Western Christendom, east are the Eastern churches. Only this time the distinction is not quite so simple. Our line tells us the limits of the old churches, but their later extension and missions complicate the situation. There are Latin dioceses all over the world—in India, Africa, Australia, and so on, even in the lands that are the original centres of Eastern churches. These Latin dioceses, of course, wherever they may be, belong to the Western half. So do Protestant missions. And the few missions of the Orthodox Church in the West are naturally parts of an Eastern Church. Perhaps the clearest way of explaining East and West is to draw up the list of churches on either side.

The Latin branch of the Catholic Church (enormously its greater part, but by no means the whole) is a Western Church; so are all the sects of Protestantism that came out of it at the Reformation and all their further subdivisions and ramifications. The rest of Christendom is Eastern. We have to distinguish in this rest three divisions and then a fourth, most important of all. The three divisions are between the Nestorians, Monophysites, and Orthodox; the fourth is between all of them and the Uniates. The old schismatical churches were formed by the two great heresies of the fifth century. Arianism, Pelagianism, and the others made much trouble at the time and then disappeared. The two heresies about our Lord's nature and person, condemned at Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451), made heretical churches that still exist. There is one *Nestorian Church*; on the other hand, the opposite heresy, *Monophysism*, far wider spread, produced national churches in Egypt (that of the Copts), Abyssinia, Syria (the Jacobites), and Armenia. A remote sect in India, the Christians of *Malabar*, have wavered between Nestorianism and Monophysism. Those are the older schismatical Eastern churches. Against them the enormous majority of Christendom, orthodox and Catholic, remained united in the same faith, obeying the same hierarchy, whose chief was the Pope of Rome. The great schism of the ninth and eleventh centuries broke this unity and cut off a large fragment from Catholic union. This fragment, the second largest Church in Christendom, consists of all people in communion and of some not now in communion[1] with the Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople. They describe themselves as the *Orthodox Church*. Lastly, a number of people from each of these churches have returned to union with Rome, accept the whole Catholic faith and the

[1] There are internal schisms among the Orthodox. *See* p. 22.

obedience of the Holy See, while keeping their own rites and many of their old customs. These are the *Uniates*, forming groups corresponding to the various schismatical bodies described above. One last Uniate Church completes the list. The Monothelete heresy, condemned by the sixth General Council in 680, formed a separate Church too, that of the *Maronites* in the Lebanon. But the Maronites returned in a body to the Catholic Church many centuries ago, and have remained most faithful to the Holy See ever since. So all Maronites are Uniates. They are the only case of a Uniate body that has no schismatical counterpart. Therefore Eastern Christendom is no more united than are Christians in the West. The conception of an "Eastern Church" imagined as one great body, often opposed to the Roman Church by Protestants, is the crudest fiction. There is no Eastern Church; there are fourteen separate Eastern churches, among which the six that are in union with one another are so only because they find a common centre of unity in the Pope of Rome. As for the others, they show by their state (and by the schisms that in many cases further rend each fragment) that in the East, as in the West, broken union with Rome always begins a series of further schisms and subdivisions. What follows is a description in outline of each of these churches.

II. The Nestorians

These people are the extreme eastern Syrians living on the frontier of the old empire and in Persia. Because of their remoteness from the great centres they had already developed in many ways along a special line. Their union with the great church of the empire was already lax when in the fifth century they adopted the heresy of the Nestorians and so broke all connection with the rest of Christendom. Since then

they have been a schismatical church, till lately almost forgotten in the West. But though cut off from the empire they spread enormously to the East, and were the first to carry the name of Christ to India and China. Then the great Nestorian Church shrivelled up; now it is only a pitiful remnant of poor families in the highlands of Kurdistan.

Christianity spread towards the East at a very early date. On the first Whit Sunday among those who heard the Apostles speak in divers tongues were "Parthians, Medes, Elamites and dwellers in Mesopotamia."[1] It is said that St. Thomas preached in these Eastern lands. Later legends make him first Bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, and name as his successors Addai (one of the seventy-two disciples) and then Mari. This Mari appears as the apostle of Persia. He is said to have travelled from Edessa to Nisibis, thence to Kurdistan and Media, founding churches everywhere, and then to have died a martyr near Lake Urmia.[2] In any case it is certain that the faith spread towards Persia from Edessa, and that by the middle of the third century there were bishops established in various cities as far as the Tigris, with missions extending into the Persian kingdom.[3] The Persian kings persecuted the Church, so that there are many martyrs in their domain; the east Syrian Christians developed an important literature. Over these eastern dioceses the bishops of the twin cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, on either bank of the Tigris, gradually succeeded in asserting authority. But till the Nestorian schism they themselves were, at any rate

[1] Acts ii. 9.

[2] The story is told at length in the *Acta Maris*, an apocryphal work of the sixth century (Duval, *La Littérature Syriaque*; Paris, 1901, pp. 1–15). It is discussed by J. Labourt (*Le Christianisme et l'empire Perse*, Paris, 1904, pp. 9–17).

[3] The great Sassanide dynasty reigned in Persia from 224 till the Moslem conquest in 632.

in theory, subject to the Patriarchs of Antioch. On account of their distance from the patriarchal city the bishops of Seleucia-Ctesiphon became permanent agents and legates of the Patriarch (this is what apparently was originally meant by their title of Katholikos); this vague relation gradually came to mean something very like real independence. Moreover, whereas Antioch became more and more Greek, the east Syrians kept their own language. It must be remembered, then, that when the Nestorian schism came it cut off from the rest of Christendom an outlying province with which union was already weak.

Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople from 428 to 431, is the author of the famous heresy that bears his name. That heresy may be summed up as follows: The man Christ was not God; God dwelled in him and was intimately joined to him. This is what we mean by saying that Nestorius taught that there are *two persons* in Christ, the human person and the divine person. Therefore the mother of Christ is not the mother of God. The denial of our Lady's title as Mother of God was the watchword of the Nestorians, as its assertion was that of Catholics. The chief opponent of Nestorius was St. Cyril of Alexandria († 444). Nestorius and his teaching were condemned by the third General Council at Ephesus in 431. He was deposed and shut up in a monastery.[1] The Emperor Theodosius II. (408–431) defended the council and forbade Nestorianism. But many Syrian bishops took the side of the heretic. In two Councils at Tarsus and Antioch they declared his deposition to be unjust. Two of their chief theologians, Diodore of Tarsus († *c.* 394) and Theodore of Mopsuestia

[1] Nestorius is commonly believed to have died in 439. J. F. Bethune-Baker (*Nestorius and his Teaching*; Cambridge, 1908) disputes this, and maintains that he lived to see the Council of Chalcedon in 451, with which he warmly agreed. There is a tendency now to exculpate Nestorius and to maintain that he did not really mean the heresy of which he was accused.

(called the Exegete, † *c.* 428), had already defended doctrines which agreed with his.[1] Also national feeling came into the cause. They hated "that Egyptian" Cyril, and looked on the Council of Ephesus as a triumph of Egypt over Syria. Eventually the west Syrian bishops submitted to the Council. But at the theological school of Edessa Nestorianism was still defended. Ibas, Bishop of Edessa (435–457), became the leader of this party. In 489 the Emperor Zeno (474–491) closed the school at Edessa and banished the heretics. They then fled across the frontier to Nisibis, where the Bishop Barsumas (453–489) protected them. The Persian king, always at war with the empire, also took them under his protection when he found out that their kind of Christianity was not the same as that of the Romans; so a separate Nestorian Church was formed in Persia. This church has never been excommunicated as such. Its schism is the result of its defence of the heresy condemned at Ephesus, by which defence it incurs the condemnation there pronounced. From this time begins the history of the schismatical Nestorian Church. It was cut off from the West by the laws of the empire, and gradually it was almost forgotten on this side of the Persian frontier. But it was by no means extinct. It had a long and in many ways a glorious life in Asia. The line of bishops of Seleucia-Ctesiphon went on. Now, to mark their complete independence of Antioch, they added the title Patriarch to that of Katholikos. A certain Babæus (Bab-Hai), who reigned at Seleucia from 498 to 503 and held a great synod of his bishops in 499, is said to have been the first who called himself Patriarch, and is counted as the first of the schismatical line.[2] A great number of Nestorians, chiefly monks in their many monasteries,

[1] Nestorius was an Antiochene, and had probably imbibed his heresy from these teachers.

[2] Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, iii. p. 427.

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distinguished themselves as writers and theologians, and translated Greek works into Syriac. The Arab conquest of Syria (637) and Persia (642) broke down the old barrier of the imperial frontier. The Moslems cared nothing for these disputes, and gave the Nestorians the same conditions as other Christians.

But the Nestorian Church owes her chief fame to her missions. The Katholikos at Seleucia-Ctesiphon sent missionaries to Arabia and then, as soon as it became possible, to Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. From Arabia their faith spread to India, where there was a flourishing Nestorian church;[1] from India through Khorasan it came to China. A monument of the year 781 has been discovered at Singanfu in China with inscriptions in Syriac and Chinese, giving long lists of Nestorian bishops and describing a flourishing Nestorian church in China at that time. The Katholikos Salib-hazecha, who reigned from 714 to 726, appointed a Metropolitan for China. Herat, Samarcand, even Tartary, had Nestorian bishops. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Nestorian Church reached her greatest extent. Yabh-allaha III., a Chinaman, was Katholikos from 1291 to 1317, and ruled over twenty-five provinces, extending from China to Egypt, to Southern India, and even Java.[2] From that time, however, the church began to decline. The Mogul Timur-Leng, who was a Shiah Moslem († 1405), swept with his hordes over Asia and fiercely persecuted all Christians. The Nestorians never recovered from this catastrophe. Internal quarrels and schisms greatly helped their fall, leading incidentally to continual approaches and short-lived unions with the Pope of Rome.[3] Since the sixteenth century especially they have been a dwindling sect

[1] That of the Malabar Christians; see p. 17.

[2] K. Heussi and H. Mulert, *Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte* (Tübingen, 1905). Map III. shows the enormous extent of the Nestorian Church at that time.

[3] See p. 25.

in Kurdistan, on the frontier of Turkey and Persia, and around Lake Urmia. Their Patriarch now lives at Kochanes. He always takes the title Mar Shimun. The patriarchate is, since 1450, hereditary, passing from uncle to nephew. Under the Patriarch are fifteen other bishops and about 150,000 members of his church.[1] Bishops but not priests are celibate. There are many monks and nuns, but no longer any monasteries. The Patriarch has absolute ecclesiastical and a certain amount of civil jurisdiction over his people, but he receives no *berat* from the Turkish government.[2] Continually, especially in 1843, the Nestorians have been cruelly persecuted by the Kurds. But for their particular heresy there is little to which we would take exception in their faith. Even about the great question of our Lord's person they are said now to have scarcely a trace of their old special opinion. Probably most of them understand hardly anything of the whole question. But they still refuse to our Lady the title of Mother of God, and they honour as saints Theodore, Diodore, and Nestorius. They have their own rite in Syriac (written in characters different from West-Syriac) which, in spite of many peculiarities, is probably one of the daughter-rites of Antioch. Among these peculiarities the most striking is that until quite lately the words of institution were not written in their liturgy. Whether they said them or not is much disputed. They talk a dialect of Syriac. American and Anglican missionaries are now doing much to educate these people.

III. The Monophysite Troubles

Before the Nestorian disturbance was over the extreme opposite theory produced a far greater

[1] Silbernagl, pp. 267, 268; so also G. Oussani in the *J. Hopkins Semitic Papers*, 1902 (pp. 73–90).

[2] The *berat* is the diploma which every Patriarch should receive from the Sultan before exercising his jurisdiction.

storm. Nestorians had divided Christ into two persons; against them Catholics had insisted on his unity. Now some people, carried away by their anti-Nestorian zeal, began to conceive this unity as a complete fusion of his divinity and humanity. The human nature was absorbed in the divinity as a drop of wine in an ocean. Christ not only was one person, he had *one nature*. This is the Monophysite heresy. It is evident that according to this theory our Lord would not really be a man at all: his birth, passion, death, would be mere appearances. A certain Eutyches, Archimandrite at Constantinople, once an eager ally of St. Cyril against Nestorius, became so much the leader of this new heresy that it is often called Eutychianism, after him. There were other leaders, especially in Egypt, where people thought it to be the teaching of St. Cyril, their national hero, against Nestorius. Dioscur of Alexandria, St. Cyril's successor, took up the cause hotly. In 449 he summoned what is known as the Robber-Synod at Ephesus, in which he defined the Monophysite heresy and deposed Flavian of Constantinople and other orthodox bishops. Eventually, Pope Leo I. (440–461) having defined the Catholic faith exactly, the Emperor Marcian (450–457) summoned the Council of Chalcedon (Fourth General Council, 451) which condemned Monophysism as well as Nestorianism, and deposed Dioscur.

But the trouble went on for a long time still. In Egypt and Western Syria especially Monophysism became a national cause against the emperor and the imperial church. Practically all the native population of Egypt and a great part of that of Syria remained fiercely Monophysite, in spite of laws forbidding the heresy. For centuries Eastern Church history is full of the question of these Egyptian and Syrian Monophysites; numbers of other quarrels and schisms arise out of misguided attempts on the emperor's part to conciliate them. Covering disloyalty to the empire under the

guise of a heresy, they were of course in these frontier provinces a standing danger to the State. And eventually it was this schism that made the Moslem conquest of both lands so easy. Meanwhile, Monophysite national churches had been set up in Egypt and Syria. The Catholics in these countries who kept the faith of Chalcedon and belonged to the State Church were called *Melkites*, a hybrid Semitic word with a Greek ending meaning Imperialist.[1] Almost insensibly, Armenia turned Monophysite too.

IV. The Copts

Copt is a mutilated form of the Greek Aigyptios,[2] so it means simply Egyptian. It is, however, always used with a religious meaning. A Copt is a member of the Monophysite Church in Egypt.

Their Patriarch Dioscur had been banished, but nearly all his people clung to his teaching, the teaching, as they believed, of Cyril against Nestorius. The Government appointed one Proterius as Patriarch of Alexandria, but in 457 he was murdered in a fearful revolution; the soldiers were shut up in a temple and burned alive, and a fierce Monophysite, Timothy the Cat,[3] was set up as Patriarch by the people. From this Timothy the line of Coptic Patriarchs descends. They and their people, of course, have been, and are, out of communion with the rest of Christendom ever since, except for irregularly friendly relation with their fellow Monophysites in Syria. It would take long to describe the continual quarrels, revolutions, and fighting by which they caused unceasing trouble to the empire, or the various futile attempts of the Government at Constantinople to conciliate them by sacrificing part of the Catholic faith. None of these

[1] The name *Melkite* is now used only for Uniates, p. 31.
[2] From the Arabic Qibt=(Ai)gypt(ios).
[3] Timotheus Ailuros; the name may mean Weasel.

attempts were of any use; they only made further trouble with the Pope of Rome. The Copts did not mean to be conciliated. In 641, when the Moslems came, the Copts helped them against the Melkites, and Egypt became a Moslem province. But the traitors gained little by the change. Their lot was no better than that of other Christians; repeatedly (notably under the Fatimid Caliph El-Hakim, 996–1021) they were massacred in thousands. But their line of patriarchs and bishops went on; they used their liturgy in Coptic and kept up their traditional heresy, though gradually their consciousness of it meant little more than an ignorant reverence of the memories of Dioscur and Timothy, and an equally ignorant hatred of the Council of Chalcedon. Mehemed Ali (1805–1849) proclaimed tolerance throughout his domain. This tolerance the Copts, like everyone else, have enjoyed ever since.

There are now about 500,000 Copts in Egypt, of whom more than 10,000 live at Cairo. Their Patriarch of Alexandria, claiming, of course, to be the successor of St. Mark, St. Athanasius, and St. Cyril, lives at Cairo; he has a pompous title in which he describes himself as Judge of the World, and claims jurisdiction over Egypt, Jerusalem, Abyssinia, Nubia, the Pentapolis, and all places where St. Mark preached. Under him are thirteen bishops in Egypt[1] and numbers of monasteries. Priests may be married, not bishops nor monks. The Copts use the old Alexandrine rite in the Coptic language. They have three alternate anaphoras (corresponding to our canon of the Mass) called after St. Mark (or St. Cyril), St. Basil (not to be confused with St. Basil's liturgy in the Byzantine rite), and St. Gregory, also a Presanctified Liturgy of St. Mark. Coptic has been a dead language for many centuries. They now speak only Arabic; it is said that many of their priests

[1] Also the Abuna of Abyssinia, p. 13.

understand nothing of what they say in the liturgy. The rubrics are all in Arabic, and their books generally have an Arabic translation parallel with the Coptic. The Copts are a poor and backward community, though lately some of their richer merchants have begun to try to educate their fellow-countrymen.

V. The Abyssinian Church

This has always been a daughter-church of Egypt. Abyssinia (which is Ethiopia) was evangelized in the fourth century by SS. Frumentius and Edesius. Frumentius was ordained the first Metropolitan by St. Athanasius in 328. He set up his see at Axum. From that time the Metropolitans of Axum have always been ordained by Patriarchs of Alexandria. The Church of Abyssinia was in every way dependent on Egypt, so it was natural that she should share the heresy and schism of the Copts. The Moslem conquest of Egypt cut Abyssinia off from the rest of Christendom. The country remained Christian, surrounded by Moslems. The national Ethiopic Church is still the only recognized religion in the domain of the Negus; till quite lately any other religion was persecuted. For eight centuries or more the Abyssinians remained forgotten and unknown by the rest of Christendom. It is not therefore wonderful that they have become the most degraded members of the great Christian family. Only occasionally Catholic missionaries, chiefly Portuguese, reached them and tried to civilize and educate them. But these missions, working of course for re-union with the Holy See, led to violent disputes; at various intervals they were put down by the Government, and many missionaries died martyrs.

Only with the Coptic Church of Egypt have the Abyssinians had regular relations. The Primate of Abyssinia is the only bishop of the national church.

He is called *Abuna*[1] as a special title. He is always a Coptic monk ordained and sent by the Coptic Patriarch. In spite of his unbounded authority over the church (subject only to his Patriarch), the fact that Abuna is necessarily a foreigner makes him often unpopular; the native Archimandrite in chief of the monks is always a dangerous rival to him. There are about three million Monophysite Abyssinians (very nearly the whole nation belongs to the national church) with an enormous number of priests ordained in masses without any preparation.[2] They have the same faith and laws as the Copts, except that they are apparently even more ignorant of the cause of their schism than these. Travellers in Abyssinia tell amazing tales of their ignorance and pagan practices.

VI. The Jacobite Church

In Syria things happened after Chalcedon much as in Egypt, with, however, this important difference, that the Monophysite movement never absorbed the whole country as it did in the rival province. Syria was always much less compactly united than Egypt. The Eastern lands had turned Nestorian; there was a fairly great Monophysite movement in the West, but it was by no means universal. Whereas in Egypt the Melkites consisted only of the small class of Greeks—soldiers and imperial officials—in Syria a large part of the native population remained Melkite. Monophysism is certainly the national Egyptian religion (among Christians); it is much less so in Syria. Peter Fullo (=the dyer) succeeded in expelling the orthodox Patriarch of Antioch and in usurping his see about the year 471. There was the same disturbance as in Egypt. The Government tried to put

[1] *Abuna* means "our father." In Syria and Egypt it is the common form of address to any priest.

[2] It is said that Abuna ordains two or three thousand priests at once (Silbernagl, 297).

the heresy down; the people clung to it as a national cause. Severus of Antioch (512–518) was a leading Monophysite. Eventually a monk of this party, James Zanzalos, was ordained bishop by the connivance of the Empress Theodora in 543. He then set up a Monophysite hierarchy in Syria, beginning by ordaining Sergius of Tella as Patriarch of Antioch. The Syrian Monophysites are called Jacobites after James Zanzalos; their line of Patriarchs goes back to Sergius. The Moslem conquest of Syria in 637 produced the same result as in Egypt. From that time the Jacobites exist as one Christian sect, treated neither better nor worse than others. They keep up a kind of irregular intercommunion with the Copts; at least the Jacobite Patriarch sends notice of his election to the Coptic Patriarch.

The Jacobites are now a very small community, a few thousand scattered in some of the Syrian towns,[1] all poor and neglected. Their Patriarch (with the title of Antioch) always takes the name Ignatius. He lives at Mardin or Diarbekr. Under him are eight Metropolitans and three other bishops. At one time the Patriarch had a vicar for East Syria called the Maphrian. The Maphrian had almost independent authority over a number of Eastern dioceses. Now the title has become little more than an honorary one. The Jacobite Metropolitan of Jerusalem uses it as one of his titles; he lives with the Patriarch and helps him in his administration. The Jacobites use the liturgy of St. James (with a great number of variable anaphoras) in Syriac. They all talk Arabic.

VII. The Armenian Church

The Armenians were evangelized from Cæsarea in Cappadocia by St. Gregory the Illuminator in the

[1] I have not found any reliable figures for modern times. In the sixteenth century there were about 50,000; there must be much fewer now.

third century. He founded a flourishing church with many bishops. It was dependent on Cæsarea; the Armenian Primate always went there to be ordained. The Persians obtained nearly all the land by treaty with Theodosius I. in 387. From this time the church was persecuted and there were many martyrs. The Armenians were so cut off from the rest of Christendom that they began to develop along their own line. Monophysite exiles preached their doctrine here; it spread very quickly, for no special reason except a jealousy of the Byzantine Church, and in 527 a great Armenian Synod at Duin rejected the Council of Chalcedon. From that time the Armenian Church has been in a state of schism towards the rest of Christendom; she is not in communion even with other Monophysites in Syria and Egypt. In the eleventh century the Seljuk Turks devastated the land. From that time the Armenians, scattered throughout the Levant, have been the most ill-treated and persecuted of nations. In its preservation of its own religion, language, and literature while scattered among other nations the race has shown a tenacity unequalled except by the Jews. The Armenian Church is the most purely national church in the world—that is to say, all Armenians belong to it,[1] and it has no members but Armenians. As in the case of other Eastern churches, the bond of religion, much more than anything else, has kept the nation together. There is a great and important Armenian literature, all Christian; and their language, with a long development from the classical form used in the liturgy to the modern one still used by them among themselves, has a recognized place in Aryan philology. As opposed to the Uniate Armenians the Monophysite majority are called *Gregorian*, after St. Gregory the Illuminator.

[1] That is, except for a small sect of Protestants, all Armenians are either Gregorians or Uniates of their rite.

The head of the Gregorian Church is the Katholikos of Echmiadzin. He represents the old line of Primates descending from St. Gregory. Echmiadzin, the traditional centre of the nation, is a monastery "of the only-begotten," north-west of Erzerum. Since 1828 it is in Russian territory. Since the schism the Katholikos also claims the title of Patriarch; but that of Katholikos is looked upon as a greater one. There are three other Armenian Patriarchs. In 1461 the Sultan (Mohammed II.) made the Armenian Bishop of Constantinople a Patriarch, so as to put him on the same footing as his Orthodox rival and to centralize the Armenian Church in the capital. In 1441 a temporary schism at Sis in Cilicia led to a rival patriarchate there. The schism was healed, but the Patriarchs of Sis were allowed to keep their title. In the seventeenth century the Armenian Bishop of Jerusalem usurped the title. This, too, has been tolerated since. Of these Patriarchs, those of Sis and Jerusalem are merely titular ones. On the other hand, the Patriarch of Constantinople has become practically the real head of all Armenians in the Turkish empire. Since the Russians hold Echmiadzin they have considerably interfered with the election of the Katholikos, and have applied their unvarying policy of Russianizing to him and his court. So the Turkish Armenians have now left him little more than an honorary primacy, and for practical direction turn rather to Constantinople. Under the Katholikos are seven dioceses in Russian territory and two in Persia. In Turkey there are, besides the three patriarchates, nineteen other sees. Archbishops are distinguished from bishops only by precedence. There are many auxiliary bishops and others who live in monasteries and have no diocese. Priests are divided into a lower class who may be married, and a higher kind called *Vartabeds*, who must be celibate. Only Vartabeds can become bishops. There are many monks and nuns. There are about

three million Gregorian Armenians scattered all over Eastern Europe, with large colonies in the West. Their liturgy, derived from that of Constantinople, is said in classical Armenian.[1] A people of traders, Armenians are disliked by almost all their neighbours, and are constantly persecuted by Moslems. In spite of that they are on the whole a rich and prosperous folk, and have very efficient schools. Lately especially they have become very friendly towards the Orthodox.

VIII. The Malabar Christians

Along the south-western coast of India is a community calling itself the Church of St. Thomas, claiming to have been founded by the Apostle. They appear to be really a remnant of the great Nestorian missions. Originally they were in communion with the Nestorian Patriarch and he ordained their bishops. They used the Nestorian rite. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese, then masters of those parts, made the Malabar Christians accept re-union with Rome. This was proclaimed at the Synod of Diamper in 1599. But others remained in schism or fell back into it in 1653. These people, the schismatical Thomas-Christians, have undergone a strange development. From being Nestorians most of them veered round to the other extreme and became Monophysites. Their intercourse with the Nestorian Patriarchs became difficult, and was often interrupted altogether. In 1665 a Jacobite bishop, sent by his Patriarch, appeared, ordained a Jacobite succession and introduced the Jacobite rite. The ease with which these people left one heresy for another, from

[1] The Armenian Church, alone among schismatical Eastern churches, uses unleavened bread for the liturgy. In other ways, too, their rite and vestments show Latin influence. At the time of the Crusades there was something of an approachment between them and the Latins. Whereas till quite lately they looked upon the Orthodox as their chief opponents they have been on the whole friendly towards Catholics.

saying that Christ is two persons to saying that he has only one nature, is significant as showing how little these questions are really understood at all among Eastern Christians. Protestant missions have further complicated the situation by establishing a Reformed sect. There are now about 70,000 schismatical Malabar Christians under the Rajah of Travancore in three sects (Nestorian, Monophysite, and Reformed).[1] The Nestorian Metropolitan, who calls himself Bishop and Gate of India, lives at Kottayam. The Jacobites appear to have wandering bishops too. They are all troublesome folk, fond of going to law with each other.

IX. The Orthodox Church

After the Nestorian and Monophysite heresies had done their worst there still remained the overwhelming majority of Christendom united in one great Catholic Church, continuing the Catholic lines of the five Patriarchs. Even in Syria and Egypt there were still Catholics. Opposed to the Monophysite Patriarchs were Catholic Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria; and throughout the empire, all over Europe was the Catholic Church, enormously greater than all the heretics put together, joined under the Pope of Rome as first Patriarch, and, in union with him, the Catholic Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. In the ninth and eleventh centuries the most disastrous schism of all broke this unity and cut away an appallingly large fragment from the Catholic Church.

There had been misunderstandings and jealousy long before that time. Even within the Church East and West had tended to drift apart. Eastern Fathers and Councils acknowledged the Pope's primacy

[1] Since the Vatican Council there has been a fourth sect of Old Catholics who left the Uniates then. They have a cathedral at Colombo.

entirely;[1] but Eastern bishops were often inclined to resent his interference when he used it. Nor did he always use it in the wisest way. The steady advance of the See of Constantinople, by which it became eventually the second patriarchate, upsetting the old ideal of three chief sees only—Rome, Alexandria, Antioch—led to endless friction; the tyranny of emperors at Constantinople dragged the Eastern bishops into temporary heresies and schisms repeatedly. Still no one before the ninth century dreamed of so hideous a catastrophe as the permanent state of schism that has now lasted nearly nine hundred years.

In 846 Ignatius became Patriarch of Constantinople. No one doubts the validity of his election; for eleven years he reigned in peace. Then, because he refused to give Holy Communion to the Regent while this person was living in a state of incest, the Government deposed and banished him, setting up the famous Photius as anti-patriarch in his stead. Both Photius and Ignatius appealed to Pope Nicholas I. (858–867). That the Pope stood out for Ignatius' right without compromise was the immediate cause of the schism. Photius managed cleverly to turn what was really only a quarrel between two candidates to the See of Constantinople into a general issue between East and West. He excommunicated all the West because of these errors: Latins (1) fast on Saturday; (2) do not begin Lent till Ash Wednesday; (3) despise married priests; (4) do not acknowledge confirmation administered by a priest; (5) have added the Filioque to the Creed.[2] For these reasons he describes us as "servants of Antichrist, liars and fighters against God." A complicated story follows; eventually after Ignatius' death Photius became lawful Patriarch and

[1] Fortescue, *Orthodox Eastern Church*, chap. ii.

[2] This last point eventually became the chief accusation. Points 1 and 2 are rubbish, 3 and 4 lies.

was then acknowledged by Rome. But he left a legacy of hatred against Latins to his Church; although the quarrel was made up for about two centuries it broke out again, under circumstances of even greater injustice on their side, under the Patriarch Michael Cerularius (1043–1058). This person, for no provocation at all, suddenly sent off a declaration of war against Latins, shut up all Latin churches in his city, and excommunicated the Pope and all his followers. He found more accusations against us, such as that we use unleavened bread for the Holy Eucharist, our bishops shave the beard and wear rings, our monks eat meat on Wednesdays. Eventually the Pope (Leo IX., 1048–1054) sent legates to Constantinople, who, finding all attempts at reconciliation useless, excommunicated Cerularius and his partisans on July 16th, 1054. It is because the bishops of the patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem have taken Cerularius' side that they share his excommunication. Rome has never excommunicated the Eastern Church as such; it is they who began by striking the Pope's name from their diptychs.[1]

The great schism has lasted since then. Two attempts were made to heal it at the second Council of Lyons in 1274 and at the Council of Florence in 1439, but neither came to anything. Instead a vast schismatical church, the second greatest in Christendom, the "Orthodox Eastern Church," remained. It has between 90 and 100 million members.

For a time the Patriarchs of Constantinople tried to assert jurisdiction over all this communion. In the first centuries after the Turkish conquest of their city (1453) they nearly succeeded. But now their attempt has been successfully resisted everywhere and the principle that the Œcumenical Patriarch, in

[1] For the story of this schism see *Orthodox Eastern Church*, chaps. iv. and v.

spite of his title, has no authority outside his own patriarchate is accepted without dispute.

All the Orthodox use the Byzantine liturgy in various languages. Their communion consists of sixteen independent churches, all in union with each other (except for some modern schisms) and with the Œcumenical Patriarch. These churches are:—

(1) *The Great Church*, that is, the Byzantine Patriarchate, covering Turkey in Europe and Asia Minor under the Œcumenical Patriarch, with ninety-four bishops; the liturgy is said here in Greek. (2) The *Patriarchate of Alexandria*, remnant of the Orthodox in Egypt, with four suffragan sees, using Greek and Arabic as liturgical languages. (3) *Antioch*, for the Orthodox in Syria, with twelve metropolitans under the Patriarch; liturgical languages Greek and Arabic. (4) *Jerusalem*, with thirteen metropolitans and services in Greek and Arabic. (5) The Church of *Cyprus*, autocephalous since the Council of Ephesus (431); an archbishop and three suffragans; Greek is the liturgical language. (6) *Russia*, independent since 1589; eighty-six metropolitans, fourteen archbishops and thirty-seven auxiliary bishops under a Holy Directing Synod; Old Slavonic is the language used in church; this is enormously the largest Orthodox body, about eight times as big as all the others together; there are Russian missions in Siberia, China, Japan, and America. (7) *Carlovitz*, the Church of the Orthodox Serbs in Hungary, independent since 1765, with six bishops; they use Old Slavonic. (8) *Czernagora* (Montenegro), independent since 1765; one bishop; service in Old Slavonic. (9) The Monastery of *Mount Sinai*, recognized as autocephalous since 1782. The abbot (Hegumenos) is an archbishop; they use Greek. (10) The *Greek Church* (since 1850), the Established Church of the Greek kingdom, using Greek in the liturgy; it has thirty-two sees under a Holy Synod. (11) *Hermannstadt* (since 1864) for the Orthodox Roumanians in Hungary; one bishop; they use Roumanian. (12) The *Bulgarian Exarchate* (1870), in schism; there is a Bulgarian Exarch at Constantinople and he has twenty-seven bishops in Macedonia and Thrace, as rivals of the Patriarch's bishops; there are also eleven sees in Bulgaria; they use Old Slavonic. (13) *Czernovitz* (1873), for the Orthodox in Austria, with three bishops; they use old Slavonic. (14) *Servia* (1879), five bishops in that kingdom in a Holy Synod using Old Slavonic. (15) *Roumania* (1885), eight bishops in a synod; using Roumanian. (16) *Herzegovina and Bosnia* (1880), the Church of the provinces, now crown-lands of the dual monarchy, already practically inde-

pendent of Constantinople; there are four bishops, using Old Slavonic.[1]

The Orthodox Church has always been torn by quarrels and schisms, never more than at the present time. These schisms are always about questions of nationality, not about the faith. Ever since the great days of the Eastern empire the Greeks have thought that they should have the leading place in the Church. They kept all the sees in their own hands and tried to impose their language on the people everywhere. Since the revival of national feeling among other races this claim has been fiercely disputed, especially by Slavs and Arabs. This leads to endless quarrels that often become formal schisms. The worst of these schisms is that of the Bulgars. They claim bishops of their own race and the liturgical use of the Slav language whenever there may be a colony of their people—that is, not only in the modern kingdom of Bulgaria but throughout Macedonia and Thrace too. They set up a Bulgarian exarch at Constantinople in 1870; Bulgarian bishops under him dispute the jurisdiction of their Greek rivals throughout these lands. In 1872 the Œcumenical Patriarch excommunicated the Bulgars. Since that there has been formal schism. But Russia is in communion with both sides. A similar quarrel now agitates the Serbs of Macedonia, and lately the Roumans have begun to take the same line. At Antioch there is schism between the Patriarch and Constantinople, because here too the Greek no longer reigns. A disgraceful quarrel between two claimants to the Archbishopric of Cyprus still continues after nine years. A national quarrel between Greeks and Arabs at this moment disturbs the Orthodox Church of Jerusalem. For the rest the power of the Œcumenical Patriarch everywhere is going steadily back and Russia casts her shadow more and more over the

[1] All these churches are described *op. cit.*, chap. x.

whole Orthodox Church. Nearly all these independent churches are hopelessly Erastian. With regard to the faith, the Orthodox deny the Pope's universal primacy and infallibility and the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and Son. The Filioque in the creed is still the great stumbling-block. They believe that the consecration in the Holy Eucharist takes place, not when the words of institution are said, but later at the invocation of the Holy Ghost in their rite. They deny the immaculate conception of our Lady, and have a rather different view about Purgatory. But the essential charge against the Orthodox Church is that as a force it is dead.

X. The Uniates

Corresponding to each of the schismatical bodies described above is a church united to the Holy See agreeing, of course, with us in every point of the Catholic faith, but keeping its traditional rites and canon law. It would be a great mistake to look upon these Uniates as half Catholics or as a compromise between our position and that of the schismatics. Uniates represent exactly the old Eastern churches as they were before the schism cut them off. They have absolutely the same right to the name Catholic that we have. The ideal of the universal Church had never been only the Latin patriarchate. It is a dire misfortune that schism has cut away the greater part of Eastern Christendom. Meanwhile we rejoice that it has not cut away all. The Uniates are the Eastern branches of the Catholic Church; it is not their fault, nor ours, that they are now much smaller than the Western branch. If some day the schismatics come back to union with Rome, then they will all be Uniates and it will be impossible for any one to make what is always a ludicrous mistake by saying that all Catholics are

Latins, use the Roman rite, have a celibate clergy, and so on. Meanwhile, whether they are great or small bodies, Uniates have as much right to their own liturgies, customs, and laws as we have to ours.

It has often been discussed whether any of these Uniate bodies can trace a continuity back to the time before the schism. Some of the Byzantine Uniates in Italy certainly can. As for those in the East, although in many cases there have been series of bishops who have approached Rome, have wished for re-union, have even made temporary re-unions, so that one can trace rather broken lines of such Uniates almost continuously back for a long time, nevertheless the formal organization of the Uniate churches always begins later. In each case the community was formed long after the schism, by Catholic missionaries who converted some schismatics back. Such conversions began at the time of the Crusades; but most lines of Uniate Patriarchs go back only to the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. The Uniate churches are, generally speaking, the work of Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries at that time.

It may be noted, once for all, that each Uniate body uses the same rites as the corresponding schismatical church, except for certain changes made at Rome, for dogmatic purposes.[1] Names of heretics are of course taken out of commemorations of saints, heretical or doubtful expressions in prayers are altered, sacraments whose use had lapsed are restored (confession among the Nestorians, for instance, is rarely heard), the Pope's name is added to intercessory prayers, and so on. But in most cases these changes are not many; often Uniates and schismatics use the

[1] Except the Maronites and Uniate Armenians all use leavened bread for the liturgy, just as do the schismatics. They do not as a rule say the Filioque in the Creed, though they believe, of course, as we do about the procession of the Holy Ghost.

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same books, and the Uniates make their corrections in the margin. In canon law, too, only points involving schism or really immoral abuses have been changed. For instance, as with schismatics, Uniate secular priests may be married, but not bishops.

XI. The Chaldeans

This is the name commonly given to the Uniates who correspond to Nestorians. Their church arose out of a complicated series of schisms among that body in the sixteenth century. First one, then the other, of two rival Patriarchs applied for recognition to Rome. From 1681 to 1826 there was a third line of Patriarchs who were all Uniates. Now matters have evolved into the curious situation that the Nestorian Patriarch descends from what was originally the Uniate line, and his Uniate rival from the Nestorian line.[1] There are now about 70,000 Chaldeans.[2] Their chief uses the title Patriarch of Babylon, and always takes the name Elias. He resides at Mosul. Under him are eleven sees in Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, and Persia. He submits to Propaganda, and also to the Latin Delegate at Baghdad. The Dominicans at Mosul print the Uniate books and have a college to educate the clergy. There are three Uniate monasteries: the famous Rabban Hormuzd, about ten miles from Mosul, another at Alkosh, and that of St. George on the Tigris, two miles from Mosul.

XII. The Uniate Copts

In 1442, and again in 1713, the Coptic Patriarch returned to the Catholic Church, but neither union

[1] The whole story is explained very clearly by J. Labourt, "Note sur les schismes de l'Eglise nestorienne du xvi au xix siècle" in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1908, pp. 227–235. There have been endless complications among the Nestorians throughout their whole history, and the most involved series of schisms.

[2] Silbernagl, p. 354.

lasted. Since 1781 there has been a body of Uniate Copts who were under an apostolic vicar. In 1895 Pope Leo XIII. established a Patriarchate of Alexandria, with two suffragan sees. There are about 20,000 Uniates of this rite.[1] The Patriarch lives at Cairo. There is a Jesuit college there for the Coptic clergy; students also go to Beirut or Rome.

XIII. The Uniate Abyssinians

The few scattered Catholics of the Abyssinian Church originally obeyed the Vicar Apostolic for the Copts. But their existence was always very precarious. As late as 1879 the Negus expelled all Catholics from his kingdom. Since 1889 there has been tolerance, and the number of Uniates has increased considerably. They now have a special (Latin) Vicar Apostolic living in the country at Keren. There are a few thousand of them with native priests; but at present there is no Uniate Abyssinian rite. Till the books have been revised they use the Roman Mass in Geez. Lazarist and Capuchin missionaries work here for the conversion of the schismatics. A few students go to Beirut, others to the Jesuit school at Cairo. When things have been organized and the rite is restored there should be a Uniate Abuna under the Uniate Coptic Patriarch.

XIV. The Uniate Syrians

These are converted Jacobites. There has been a Uniate diocese of Syrians at Aleppo since 1546. In 1781 the bishop of this diocese, Ignatius Michael Giarve, persuaded a great number of Jacobites to elect him Patriarch of Antioch. But the schismatical party then elected a rival Patriarch and Giarve was driven away from Mardin when he had been elected. The Uniate line descends from him. The present

[1] Silbernagl, p. 342.

Uniate Patriarch of Antioch of the Syrian rite is a famous scholar, Ignatius Ephrem II. (Rahmani). He resides at Beirut. Under him are eight sees, chiefly in Mesopotamia, and several monasteries. There are about 25,000 Catholic Syrian families.[1]

XV. The Maronites

This is the church that is all Uniate. The Maronites form almost the whole population of the Lebanon and the chief community at Beirut; they are also scattered over all Western Syria, Egypt, and Cyprus. The origin of their "nation" (in the Turkish sense of religious community; they are not a special race by blood) is enormously discussed. In spite of their own vehement assertion of perpetual Catholicity there is no doubt that they were once Monotheletes and that their separate organization is the relic of what was once a schismatical Monothelete church. The Monothelete heresy in the seventh century was one of many attempts to conciliate Monophysites by a compromise between their system and the Catholic faith. It was thought that by declaring that Christ had at any rate only one principle of action, one will (whatever might be said about his nature), the Egyptians and Syrians would be reconciled. This is *Monotheletism*, the teaching of *one will* in Christ. It is, of course, only veiled Monophysism. Two natures, such as the Church asserts of our Lord, if they are really two, involve two principles of action and two wills—the eternal, almighty will of God and a human will; though of course in Christ these wills were always in perfect concord. The Emperor Heraclius (610–641) took up Monotheletism from political motives, and a series of Patriarchs of Constantinople defended it. It was condemned by the Sixth General Council (Constantinople III. in 680). The compromise satis-

[1] Silbernagl, p. 360.

fied neither side, and the heresy soon disappeared, except among some Syrian monks in the Lebanon.

The Maronite church has its origin and its name from certain monastic communities. St. John Maro is honoured as its founder. He established a monastery in the Lebanon in the fourth century; after his death his monks, called Maronites after him, built another on the Orontes, and then there were daughter-houses all over the mountains. It appears that another John, one of these monks (therefore John the Maronite) spread the Monothelete heresy among his fellows. He was ordained Bishop of Botrys by Macarius, a Patriarch of Antioch who was himself a partisan of the heresy. Marcarius was deposed by the sixth general council; John refused to acknowledge his successor, and so built up a schismatical church, in communion with neither Melkites nor Monophysites. As head of a separate church, he, or his successors, took the title of Patriarch. The laity in the Lebanon served by these monks naturally shared their heresy. So the Maronite church remained isolated for some centuries. Meanwhile the great schism occurred and the Maronites found themselves surrounded by Orthodox and Jacobites. At perpetual feud with both, they came out of their isolation at the time of the Crusades to unite with the Catholics. In 1182 the Maronite Patriarch made his submission to Rome; there have been a few temporary schisms since then; but since 1216 especially the union of the Maronites has not been seriously disturbed. For all these centuries they have been most faithful to the Holy See. There is, of course, no trace of their former heresy among them now; their splendid fidelity to the Catholic faith and to Catholic unity amidst Moslems and schismatics has long atoned for their original schism. Of all Eastern churches they alone can boast that they are all Catholics. Centuries of oppression from their neigh-

bours have so riveted their loyalty to Rome that there are now no better Catholics in the world.

The Maronite Patriarch has the title "Patriarch of Antioch and of all the East," though he in no sense represents the old line. He always takes the name Peter, and lives in a great palace in the Lebanon. Under him are ten dioceses in Syria and Cyprus. He receives no *berat* from the Sultan. There are several titular bishops and many monasteries. The number of Maronites is estimated at about 300,000.[1] Their laws are determined chiefly by the great National Council at the monastery Deir Luaize (Our Lady of the Almond trees) in 1736. Their rite is derived from the old Antiochene use, very considerably Latinized.[2] The liturgical language is Syriac; the rubrics are in Arabic with Syriac letters—this combination is called Karshuni. On the whole, the Maronite church is one of the most flourishing of all Eastern churches. Its union with Rome has the effect that Western theology is studied, and Maronite students frequent schools of Western missionaries. They also have a college at Rome.

XVI. The Uniate Armenians

Since the fourteenth century a number of Armenians have returned to the Catholic Church. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries especially a large body of Armenian Uniates were organized under Uniate Patriarchs. There are now about 130,000 of them[3] under the Patriarch of Cilicia, with which title is now united the former (Armenian Catholic) Archdiocese of Constantinople. The Patriarch lives at Constantinople; he always takes the name Peter. Under him are twelve sees in

[1] Silbernagl, p. 384.

[2] They use Latin vestments, unleavened bréad, and give communion under one kind.

[3] Silbernagl, p. 344.

Turkey, one in Persia, one in Egypt, and three titular archdioceses. For a long time the Catholic Armenian Patriarchs officially represented all the other Uniate churches before the Turkish government; now each is organized politically as a "nation" with its own representative. Independent of this Patriarch are two other Uniate Armenian communities, that of Austria under an Archbishop of Lemberg (those of Transylvania have no bishop of their own rite) and Russia under a Bishop of Artwin. Of the many Uniate Armenian monasteries the most famous are those of the Mechitarists, founded by Mechitar in 1715. They have houses at Venice, Vienna, and in many towns of the Levant. The Mechitarists follow the rule of St. Benedict; they have schools and printing-presses by which they do admirable work for the education of their countrymen.

XVII. The Uniates of Malabar

In 1599, at the Synod of Diamper, the great majority of the Christians of St. Thomas came into union with the Holy See. The union was brought about chiefly by pressure on the part of the Portuguese; afterwards many went back into schism. There are now 108,000 Uniates of this rite under two Vicars Apostolic, who are Latin bishops having leave to say Mass and confirm according to the Malabar rite. These bishops must have Uniate vicars-general and at least four of the native clergy to form a council. This arrangement dates from 1885. Before that the Malabar Uniates submitted to ordinary Latin bishops. They use the Chaldean rite in Syriac, considerably Romanized.

XVIII. Uniates of the Byzantine Rite

This is the only general name for the Catholics who correspond to the Orthodox churches. They are

the largest and perhaps the most important body of Uniates, but they have no common organization. Corresponding to the various Orthodox churches they are scattered fragments, using the Byzantine rite in various languages, joined by no common authority save the supreme one of the Pope. Many of them hope for a Uniate Patriarch of Constantinople who would stand at the head of their Church as other Patriarchs at the head of other Uniate churches. These people are, of course, such fragments of the great Orthodox Church as have come back to reunion, undoing, as far as they are concerned, the great schism. They consist of these groups:—

(1) The *Melkites* in Syria and Egypt. The old name for people who accepted the Council of Chalcedon in these lands is now used only for the Uniates among them. The others keep only the name Orthodox. The Melkites have eleven sees under a Patriarch of Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and all the East. They use Arabic interspersed with Greek liturgically; some of their clergy use only Greek.[1] (2) A few hundreds using *Greek* scattered about Turkey in Europe and Greece. They obey the Latin Delegates at Constantinople and Athens. (3) One *Georgian* congregation at Constantinople under the Latin Delegate, using Georgian (4) About four million *Ruthenians* in Austria, Hungary, and hidden still in corners of Russia. They have six bishops in Austria and Hungary, and use Old Slavonic. (5) *Bulgarian* Uniates (about 13,000), under two Apostolic Vicars, using Old Slavonic. (6) About a million and a half *Roumanian* Uniates in Roumania and Transylvania, with four bishops, using Roumanian. (7) The *Italo-Greeks* (about 50,000), remnant of the Old Byzantine Church of Greater Greece. They are scattered about Calabria, Apulia, and Sicily, have a famous monastery near Rome (Grotta-ferrata), and colonies at Leghorn, Malta, Algiers, Marseilles, and Corsica. They are under the jurisdiction of the Latin ordinaries, but have titular bishops of their own rite for ordinations.

[1] Any priest of this rite may say the liturgy in any of the approved languages in which it is used. There is nothing to prevent an Arab celebrating in Old Slavonic or Roumanian, if it makes no scandal, and if he can.

This completes the list of Uniate and so of all Eastern churches. The many Latin bishops and churches in the East belong, of course, to the Roman patriarchate, and do not concern our subject.

XIX

The following list contains a few of the modern and most easily accessible books on Eastern churches :—

F. Kattenbusch, *Lehrbuch der vergleichenden Konfessionskunde.* I. *Die Orth. Anat. Kirche.* Freiburg i. Br., Mohr, 1892 (considerably the best work on the whole subject).

I. Silbernagl, *Verfassung u. gegenw. Bestand sämtl. Kirchen des Orients.* Regensburg, Manz. 2nd ed., 1904 (very useful account of their present state, laws, numbers, etc.).

L. Duchesne, *Eglises séparées.* Paris, Fontemoing. 2nd ed., 1905. The *Échos d'Orient* (Paris, every two months since 1897) always has most valuable articles about all these churches.

F. Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies.* Oxford, 1896.

G. P. Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals.* London, 2 vols., 1852.

A. d'Avril, *La Chaldée chrétienne.* Paris, 1864.

Vlieger, *Origin and Early History of the Coptic Church*, 1900.

Butcher, *Story of the Church of Egypt.* London, 1897.

I. L. Gondal, *Le Christianisme au pays de Ménélik.* Paris, Blond, 1901.

F. C. Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity.* London, 1904.

S. Weber, *Die Katholische Kirche in Armenien.* Freiburg i. Br., Herder, 1903.

Issaverdenz, *Armenia and the Armenians.* Venice, 2nd ed., 1875.

W. German, *Die Kirche der Thomas-christen.* Gütersloh, 1877.

A. Fortescue, *The Orthodox Eastern Church.* London, C.T.S., 1907.

W. F. Adeney, *The Greek and Eastern Churches.* Edinburgh, 1908.

J. Michalcescu, *Die Bekenntnisse u. die wichtigsten Glaubenszeugnisse der griech.-orient. Kirche.* Leipzig, 1904.

O. Werner, S.J., *Orbis Terrarum Catholicus.* Fr. i. Br., 1890.

N. Murad, *Notice historique sur l'origine de la nation Maronite.* Paris, 1844.

THE RELIGION OF THE KORÂN

By E. Power, S.J.

The religion of the Korân is called Islām, "resignation," and was founded in Arabia in the beginning of the seventh century. Its founder, Mohammed, was a genius, but not an inventive one. He merely used old materials to form out of them a new religion. What, then, were these old materials, the native and foreign religious forces at work in Arabia before Islam, must be our first inquiry.

I

Arabian Religion before Islam

Arabian Heathenism.—If Renan's assertion, to explain Hebrew monotheism, that the Semitic mind is essentially monotheistic, be sufficiently disproved by the Babylonian Pantheon, his reason for it—the monotony of the desert—is still more strikingly refuted by the profusion of local deities in Arabia. These were worshipped under the form of blocks of stone or, less usually, wood—the Massebahs and Asherahs often mentioned in the Bible—which were, except in rare instances, neither enclosed in houses nor hewn into any resemblance to human shape. Close by was a tree, on which clothes and weapons, the offerings of pious devotees, hung, and a spring from which was drawn the water necessary for sacrificial and other purposes. Around was the Himā, "sacred enclosure,"

often of vast extent, peopled by camels, gazelles, and other varieties of wild and tame animals, all sacred to the god. The human sacrifices in vogue at an earlier period had long been replaced by those of sheep, oxen, and especially camels, the blood of which was always poured on the stone, or into a hole in the earth beside it, to secure communion with the deity, and the flesh consumed by the offerers at the sacrificial banquet which followed.

Besides sacrifice and offering, the chief religious practices connected with the sanctuary were procession and divination. The former, usually undertaken at times of special need, consisted in making the round of the sanctuary seven times, either dressed in borrowed garments or more or less lightly clad. Divination was practised by the Arabs when doubtful as to the expediency of pursuing a certain course of action, especially if it were difficult and dangerous, —avenging a slain relative, for instance, or raiding a hostile tribe. The guidance of the deity was generally sought by means of pointless arrows which contained the negative or affirmative answer to the question proposed, and were drawn by lot.

Of supreme importance for the understanding of Arabian heathenism is the annual festival held, probably at the autumn equinox, in the neighbourhood of Mecca, to which pilgrims came from all parts of the peninsula. Their safety was provided for by the three months' religious peace observed during, before, and after the feast, and a large attendance was ensured by the fairs held at this period in the immediate vicinity. Specially famous was the Ukāz fair, lasting at least a month, at which merchants sold their wares, poets recited their verses, warriors sowed the seeds, and even settled the place and time, of future conflicts, and generally all kinds of public proclamations were made affecting the Arab in his national, tribal, and individual capacity. The festival itself we need not here describe, as it was practically identical

with the later Mohammedan pilgrimage. By uniting the different tribes in common religious ceremonies, it accustomed them to the idea of one common God, and thus prepared the way for monotheism. Moreover, it made Mecca a religious centre for all Arabia, thanks to the politic conduct of the Koraish, who invited all to visit their city and sanctuary, and take part in the great annual fair held at the conclusion of the pilgrimage.

Superstitious belief in demons, witches, omens, and other elements of lower heathenism to be found among the Arabs we may not dwell on here. We must note, however, that the religious practices inspired by their hopes and fears were only directed to the attainment of worldly prosperity. The belief in a future existence, to which their funeral rites testify,[1] had ceased to have any practical influence upon them. Though some of the thinking men of North and Central Arabia realised the vanity of the objectless activity of their lives, our search for higher ideals must be made in the Sabæan kingdom of the South.

SABÆAN RELIGION.—There, temples and images had long replaced the primitive stone worship, and holocausts and incense were offered to the god. Prayer, fasting, and other austerities, confession of sin and ritual washings, were performed at least by the priests. Already by the end of the fourth century we find a monotheistic religion established in Saba, which combined with a belief in grace, forgiveness of sin, and life beyond the grave, pagan practices of offering and divination. When, therefore, there is no mention of a destruction of idols more than two hundred years later by the Moslem conquerors of South Arabia, we seem justified in concluding that these new doctrines were already widespread there. They had been taken over from Judaism and Christianity.

JUDAISM.—The profits of commerce had early

[1] Provisions were supplied to the deceased, whose steed was slain and whose weapons were broken over the grave.

attracted the Jews to Arabia. Inscriptions tell us of their presence in al-Hejr and Tihāma. They had also settled in the fruitful oases of Chaibar and Taima, and especially in and about the important city of Medina. Tāif, too, not far from Mecca, had its Jewish colony. And so great was their power in South Arabia that, in the year 520, we find a Jewish monarch, Joseph Dhu Nuwās, on the throne of Saba.

CHRISTIANITY.—Nor was Christianity less influential. From the Ghassanides on the Syrian and the Lachmides on the Mesopotamian border, vassal kings of the Byzantine and Persian empires respectively, it had spread among many of the northern and eastern tribes. In the south, the Abyssinians, converted towards the end of the fourth century, lost no time in conveying to their neighbours the good tidings of the Gospel, and establishing strong Christian colonies at Aden and Nejrān. The Syrian wine-merchants and the numerous hermits of the desert, whom we find often mentioned in pre-Islamic poetry, had brought the new ideas even into Central Arabia, the home of heathenism, and there was a Christian colony at least at Medina. We must bear in mind, however, that almost all the Arabian Christians belonged to heretical sects,[1] and were, moreover, associated in the minds of their countrymen with the idea of foreign invasion.[2]

HANIFS.—The doctrines of Judaism and Christianity were, then, at the disposal of the Arabs, and at this very period some individuals from Mecca, Medina,

[1] Palmer (Introduction, I, li, lii) strangely considers Arabian Christians below the level of Islam, accepting, without more ado, Mohammed's allegations against them. We need only appeal for proof of the contrary to the Nejrānīs, their 340 martyrs under the Jewish king Dhu Nuwās, their bishop Kuss, still proverbial as the model of pulpit eloquence, and their persevering resistance to Islam for centuries, till history loses sight of them.

[2] We may add here that the Persian occupation of South Arabia shortly before 600 A.D. introduced the Mazdean religion, which exercised on early Islam an influence hard to define precisely, but relatively unimportant, though Goldziher, an excellent authority, considers it undervalued, and would make it accountable, *e.g.*, for the five periods of prayer and certain laws of ritual cleanliness.

and Tāif, the three chief cities of Central Arabia, sought their aid without submitting to them. These were the Hanīfs. In their search for the pure religion of their great ancestor Abraham, they took over from Jews and Christians the doctrines and practices which suited them best. They abstained from wine, and practised other mortifications, were rigid monotheists, believed in a future life, with its eternal punishments and rewards, and, eventually, either passed over to Islam or Christianity, or died with their search for truth unfinished, their religious doubts unsolved. One of them, the Taifite Umayya, famous for his learning and poetic talent, tried by his religious poems to instruct and elevate his pagan contemporaries. With two others, Mohammed was in close connection at Mecca. When the latter, however, calls himself a Hanīf, the name is not a tribute to his precursors ; it rather stamps the new creed as the faith of Abraham and Ishmael, the national religion of Arabia.

II

Mohammed

His Life.—Mohammed was born in Mecca, of humble parentage, about the year 570. He was a posthumous child, and as he lost his mother and subsequently his grandfather while yet young, the care of the orphan fell to the chief of the clan, his generous uncle Abu Tālib, who ever afterwards proved a most faithful protector. Among the humble employments of his youth seems to have been the accompanying caravans, probably in some inferior capacity, to South Arabia and Syria, and the voyages must have broadened his religious horizon. Later on he was fortunate enough to attract the attention of a rich elderly widow, Chadīja, who first employed him to trade for her, and subsequently married him. The penniless orphan was now a man of wealth and

influence, and could devote his attention to other matters. He spent the next fifteen years of his life for the most part in quiet and contemplation, retiring frequently to the hill caves near his native city. In one of these periods of solitary reflection, when about forty years of age, he received, he tells us, his prophetic mission. His wife was the first who believed in him. Soon, however, others, attracted by his character and the nature of his revelations, gathered around him, and the new religion was established. In its earliest form it inculcated belief in one God and Mohammed His prophet, as well as in a future life, while almsgiving and prayer were the essential duties.

Mohammed's strenuous denunciations of his unjust and idolatrous townsmen, whom he threatened with a swift and terrible judgement, soon brought a bitter persecution on the faithful. Moslem slaves were cruelly tortured by their masters, and only saved by being either purchased into freedom or allowed to deny their faith openly while professing it in secret. The free men were disowned by their clans, an extreme step, which necessitated the first Hegira, "emigration," to Abyssinia in 615. A man without a clan in Arabia carried his life in his hands. The Hashimites alone, thanks to the sturdy sense of honour of Abu Tālib, refused to abandon their Moslem kinsmen, for which they were boycotted by the other clans. And, though the ban was removed as ineffectual a few years later, Mohammed, at length despairing of the conversion of the Koraish, preached the new faith to the various Arab tribes assembled in pilgrimage at Mecca. The pilgrims from Medina, already familiar with such ideas from the Jews and Christians settled among them, and feeling their national pride flattered by the thought of revelations made to an Arab in the Arabic tongue, received the new faith, propagated it on their return home, and during the pilgrimage of 622, at a secret meeting

with the prophet, promised him and his co-religionists protection and equality of rights if they took up their abode among them. The immediate result was the second Hegira or emigration [1] to Medina, from which the Mohammedan calendar is reckoned. The Medinetans, weakened by intestine quarrels, were glad of the increase of military strength, while Mohammed had an abundant source of religious inspiration in the Jewish and Christian colonies, and of political power in the rival parties he could so well pit against each other.

His first care at Medina was to perfect his religious system. For the tribal bond he substituted that of religious brotherhood, regulated the time and place and manner of prayer, made Friday the Moslem Sabbath, introduced fasting, and established the distinction between clean and unclean foods. The second year of the Hegira put the crowning touch to the new faith, the establishment of the heathen temple at Mecca as its national sanctuary, and of the holy war as its most meritorious observance. It was, above all, his political sagacity that made Mohammed see in this step the one means of uniting all Arabia under his civil and religious sway. He justified his pact with heathenism by a new revelation which declared the holy house at Mecca the first temple ever built to God, and founded by Abraham and Ishmael, the great fathers of the Arabic race.

Of the wars which followed we may not speak at length. The raids on the Koraish and signal victory at Badr in 624 called forth an enthusiasm which the defeat at Ohod in 625 was powerless to quell. The attack on Medina in 627 was repelled. Neighbouring tribes in the north and east were gradually subdued. Mohammed requested permission to make the pilgrimage in 628, and the Koraish thought it better to

[1] The ordinary translation, "flight," besides being linguistically incorrect, misrepresents the circumstances of Mohammed's expatriation.

allow him to do so in the following year. His reappearance in so different a capacity in his native city procured the immediate secession of warriors like Chālid and Amr, and made such an impression on the rest that, early in the following year, Mecca peacefully surrendered to his invading army. Its fall was quickly followed by the victory of Honain, which decided the fate of Central Arabia, and called forth embassies with tenders of submission from all parts of the peninsula. South Arabia was subdued in 631. In the following year, in the midst of plans for the subjugation of the Greeks and Persians, Mohammed died peacefully at Medina, leaving no provision for the future government of the creed and the nation he had founded.

His Character.—In judging the prophet's moral character, we must carefully distinguish between the Mohammed of Mecca and the Mohammed of Medina. The hostility to Jews and Christians, the introduction of heathenism into Islam, the institution of the holy war, the violation of his own lax marriage laws, the instigation of robberies and murders, the defence of his crimes and schemes by pretended revelations—a sin of the enormity of which he declares himself in the Koran fully conscious—all force us to the conclusion that at Medina we have to do with an unscrupulous politician. At Mecca, on the other hand, as he shows a profound and persevering conviction of the truth of his revelations, the materials for which he had already assimilated, and as his actions are not incompatible with that subjective persuasion, we prefer to attribute his prophetic experiences to his nervous affections, or to the flattering interpretation of natural phenomena by contemporary credulity. When modern non-Catholic writers call him a prophet, it must be remembered that they do not connect with the name that sanctity of life and direct communication with God which we do. Tiele explains what they mean when he says that Mohammed, like

a filter, let pass through him the religious and moral ideas then current in Arabia, not indeed the best and highest of them, but those which suited his own individuality, lending to them at the same time unity and life. We should not so much object to calling Mohammed a prophet in this sense, as to the depreciation of the prophets of the Old Testament which such a use of the word and such a comparison suppose and intend.

III

Sources of Islam

Koran and Hadīth are the two sources from which Islam is derived. A word on each of these.

Al-Koran, first applied to each individual revelation of Mohammed, was subsequently used to designate the whole collection of them made after his death by his scribe Zaid. This copy, the authenticity of which is certain, was revised and officially recognized in 660 A.D., when all others were collected and burned. It contains 114 Sūras, "chapters," neither forming an organic whole nor representing each a separate revelation. These are subdivided into Āyāt, "verses," and arranged mostly according to length, the longer being first. The want of a chronological order Zaid supplied by the generally correct but quite inadequate place-indication, Mecca or Medina, prefixed to each sura, which must be controlled and supplemented by references to contemporary events, peculiarities of style, and other internal criteria.

Hadīth, "communication" or "narration," includes not only the sayings of Mohammed—the Koran is the word of God—but also the Sunna, "customary way of doing things," observed by him and his companions, from which word the orthodox Mohammedans take their name, Sunnīs. These traditions, some derived from Jewish and Christian [1] writings, others unscrupu-

[1] Specially interesting is the following mutilated but sufficiently clear testimony to Eastern belief in the Immaculate Conception at this period:

lously invented to support political and religious views, had passed the million by the 9th century, when collections of the better authenticated ones were made, six of which obtained official recognition. Comparatively few even of these approved traditions are really derived from Mohammed, but all have had their influence on Islam, and two have shaped the future course of the orthodox party. "My community will never agree in false doctrine" is the foundation of the Ijmā principle which legalises anything and everything universally agreed upon. "Difference of opinion in my community is a sign of the Divine mercy" allows such slight doctrinal variations as distinguish, for instance, the four orthodox ritualistic schools, established about 800 A.D., and called, after their founders, Hanafīs, Malikīs, Shāfiīs, and Hanbalīs.

IV

Duties of Islam

The Pillars of Islam.—Faith.—The five chief duties of the faithful, the Pillars of Islam, as they are called, are Faith, Prayer, Almsgiving, Fasting, and Pilgrimage. The first of these need not detain us long. "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is the messenger of Allah," is the short and pithy Profession of Faith that has ever been in use amongst the Moslems. The public recitation of this formula, which must be performed at least once by every Mohammedan, presupposes conversion, makes apostasy punishable with death, and binds to the fulfilment of the whole law. It does not determine dogmatically what one must believe, but the Moslem theologians have made it practically include the following six articles—belief in God, the Angels, the Holy Books, the Prophets, the Resurrection and Judgement, and

"Every human being at birth (*sic*) is touched by Satan except Mary and her Son." The tradition was naturally misunderstood by its borrower, as the Koran knows nothing of Original Sin

finally Predestination. We shall treat of these dogmas more fully elsewhere.

PRAYER.—Every Mohammedan must pray five times daily—between dawn and sunrise, at noon, during the afternoon, at sunset, and after nightfall. Originally, indeed, at Mecca, Mohammed had, in imitation of the Jews and perhaps the Christian monks, appointed morning, evening, and night the times for prayer, the last-mentioned being often considerably prolonged. He saw, however, at Medina, that his followers, who were now to be changed into warriors, needed their full repose, and so shortened their night devotions, appointing afternoon prayer instead. The fifth period is of uncertain origin.

He declared the human voice the most fitting instrument to proclaim the time for prayer, and so rejected, after trial, the Jewish trumpet and the Christian nākūs, "wooden clappers." Nor can any one refuse to admire his wise choice who has once heard the Muezzin sing from the lofty minaret of the mosque into the still evening air: "Allah is great. I testify there is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is the messenger of Allah; come to prayer; come to worship; Allah is great; there is no God but Allah."

On hearing the call of the Muezzin the Moslem first performs his ablutions, washing his face, his hands up to the elbows, and his feet to the ankles. So indispensable is this ceremony that, when water is not to be had, in the desert, for instance, a rubbing with sand must take its place. He then goes through a regulated series of bodily movements, standing, bowing, kneeling, and prostrating himself, and repeats, mentally at least, a prescribed set of religious formulæ, always in the Arabic tongue. This he may do in private, in any clean place, or, best of all, in the mosque, where, placing himself behind the Imām who conducts the prayer, and imitating his movements, he is secured from all danger of failing in ritualistic

observances. Another indispensable ceremony is the Kibla, or turning during prayer towards Mecca. Mohammed had first ordered his followers to pray facing Jerusalem, after the manner of the Jews and Christians of the period, and the change was brought about by an opportune revelation at Medina, when he had decidedly broken with Jews and Christians, and fixed on Mecca as the national sanctuary of Islam. [1]

The mosque, which, besides being used for divine worship, affords accommodation to poor travellers, differs little from a Catholic church stripped of its altars, statues, benches, and organ. Indeed, some of the finest mosques are old Christian cathedrals. They must all have a minaret or slender turret, corresponding to our belfry, a mihrāb or niche in the wall indicating the direction of Mecca, and a minbar or pulpit, from which an educated layman preaches every Friday to a free congregation. This sermon, which takes place about midday, and is preceded by prayer, is the only peculiarity of the Moslem Sabbath, on which people are free to pursue their ordinary avocations. The custom of making it a day of rest is now, however, beginning to creep in.

As a specimen of prayer, we subjoin Burton's rendering of the first sura of the Koran, which enjoys the same popularity with Mohammedans as the Our Father or Hail Mary does with us. The original is in rhymed prose, which the translator imitates.

"In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate!
Praise be to Allah, who the (three) worlds made.
The Merciful, the Compassionate.
The King of the Day of Fate.
Thee (alone) do we worship, and of Thee (alone) do we ask aid.
Guide us to the Path that is straight,
The Path of those for whom Thy Love is great, not those on whom is Hate, nor they that deviate.
Amen! O Lord of Angels, Jinns, and men!"

[1] *N.B.*—*Salat* is better translated *ritual exercise* than *prayer*.

The fidelity of the Mohammedans, especially the poor, to the prayers prescribed, and their complete freedom from human respect in performing them, make them, in this, a model to most Christians.

ALMSGIVING.—Works of charity play such a prominent part in early Islam as to render plausible a theory advanced but subsequently retracted by Grimme, that Mohammed then used religion merely as a motive power to secure social reforms, just as he certainly used it later on to further his political schemes. "Purification," the literal meaning of the Aramaic word zakāt, with which he expresses this duty, shows that he borrowed it from Jews or Christians, who connected almsgiving with justification and atonement for sin. He was, no doubt, influenced in giving it such a prominent position by the arrogance and injustice then prevalent at Mecca, and by the fact that generosity is the Arabian national virtue. Indeed, these very reasons had already produced there during his youth a movement for the relief of misery and the repression of wrong.

The precept, while it never in any sense recommended the practice of poverty, at first imposed on the faithful the duty of employing their superfluities in relieving poor relations, orphans, beggars, slaves, etc. When, however, at Medina, Islam became a state as well as a religion, the alms collected were put into the treasury, and partially devoted to the purposes of the holy war. A way was thus laid open for the further step made by Mohammed's successor of distinguishing between state tribute and private almsgiving. Henceforth the taxes, which were levied on each individual according to his property at a rate fixed by the law-books, and which were at first, indeed, conscientiously employed in the service of the community, were known as zakāt. The giving of unofficial alms, "sadakāt," in money or in kind, is also obligatory, and is especially practised at the end of the fasting month, Ramadān.

FASTING.—The esteem in which the ancient Arabs held frugality and patient endurance of the pangs of hunger and thirst—a virtue they had often to practise—may have contributed to making fasting the fourth Pillar of Islam. This obligation, at first imposed for only one day in the year, the Ashūrā, "tenth day" of the "first" month, Muharram, which, by the way, is still observed as a fast-day at Mecca, was subsequently extended to the entire thirty days of Ramadān. The reason given for selecting that month was that in it Mohammed had received his first revelations. Just as the Ashūrā is obviously the Jewish Yom Kippur, Ramadān seems to be our Lent, which the Eastern Christians then celebrated by fasting until after sunset for a period of thirty-six days, in memory of Our Lord's preparation for His apostolic mission.

In Mohammedan cities, during the month of Ramadān the sound of a cannon two hours before daybreak warns the faithful to prepare their morning meal. When, according to Koranical prescription, there is sufficient light to distinguish a black from a white thread, a similar signal is given, and thenceforth the Moslem may not eat or drink, or smoke, or use perfumes, or even swallow his saliva designedly, till the welcome shot is heard at sunset which permits him to make good the losses of the day. As the Mohammedans have a lunar calendar, Ramadān makes the round of the seasons every thirty-three years, and hard it is in the hot East to pass the sixteen long hours of a June day's fast without being able to quench the parching thirst which consumes one. No wonder that business flags during the holy month. The workers are exhausted, and all who can afford it spend much of the day in sleep.

The fasting, which is obligatory on all who are over fourteen years of age, is very well observed, especially by the poor. Though the sick may, as well as travellers and warriors, put off their fast to a more opportune period, or, if their malady prove an insuper-

able obstacle, pay a fixed sum of money instead, yet Burton tells us of some sick men at Cairo whom he could not persuade to do either, even to save their lives. The close of the holy month, during which there are also special devotions in the mosque by day and by night, is celebrated by the great feast of the "Breaking of the Fast" or "Little Beiram,"[1] as the Turks call it, which generally lasts three days. Fasting is also recognized in the Koran as a work of supererogation, and as a penance to be imposed for certain faults.

PILGRIMAGE.—Every Moslem whose means allow him is bound to make once in his lifetime the Hajj, "pilgrimage," to Mecca, and the holy places in its neighbourhood. As we have already mentioned what an important part this pilgrimage played in ancient Arabia, and when and why Mohammed took it bodily over into Islam, it only remains for us here to give a very brief account of it.

On the ninth of Dhu l-Hijja, "pilgrimage-month," takes place every year at Arafa—a hill less than two hundred feet high about twelve miles due east of Mecca—a great festal gathering of Mohammedans from every part of the world, all dressed in the ihrām, "white robe of pilgrimage," and awaiting the word of the Imām to march in procession to the neighbouring sanctuary. Permission is given shortly after sunset, and all start for Muzdalifa, four miles off in the Mecca direction, where a sleepless night is passed. Early next morning the pilgrims collect each seven pebbles, armed with which they proceed, at the word of command, to Mina, midway between Muzdalifa and Mecca. There the devil, simply a huge pile of white-washed masonry, is pelted with the pebbles; victims, especially sheep, are sacrificed; the ihrām is cast off, and the hair and nails are cut—a proof that in heathen times the ceremonies, which included, no doubt,

[1] "Great Beiram," "Korban Beiram," is the pilgrimage sacrificial feast observed all over the Moslem world.

sacrifice also at Muzdalifa, here ended. At least the two following days are spent at Mina in eating and drinking, and pleasant conversation and "stoning the devil." The sacred vale may then be abandoned, with its 100,000 rotting carcases of slaughtered animals, which are left unburied to breed cholera and pest, as they have often done.[1] Mecca must still be visited.

The ceremonies to be performed at Mecca, with which the faithful must begin as well as end the pilgrimage, are four in number—making seven times the round of the holy house, kissing the black stone, drinking the water of Zamzam, and running to and fro between the two hills of as-Safa and al-Marwa. The holy house, called Kaaba from its cubical shape, is of massive stone. In the east corner is embedded the famous black stone, which Burton thinks is really an aerolite, while most authorities agree as to its volcanic origin. A few steps east of the holy stone is the well, Zamzam. Its water is salt bitter, and, besides being very heavy, has other rather unpleasant effects. As-Safa and al-Marwa—both words mean stone—were holy places in heathen times, the object of the race between them being to connect the two sanctuaries.

All these ceremonies are only saved from unmitigated heathenism by legends which are pure Moslem invention. Abraham first sacrificed a ram at Mina instead of Ishmael (not Isaac), and first stoned the devil there. Father and son built and made the circuit of the holy house, in which they inserted the heaven-sent stone. By the water of Zamzam an angel, at Hagar's prayer, assuaged her child's thirst. As the course between as-Safa and al-Marwa is parallel to the front of the adjacent Kaaba, the race could be considered part of its worship, and so secured to Islam.

THE HOLY WARS.[2]—This public duty, only made

[1] Some sanitary precautions have been imposed in recent years.

[2] We may state at the outset that the holy war bears no comparison with the crusades, which were directed against the desecration of the holy places and the ill-treatment of captive and subject Christians.

obligatory on individuals at the command of legitimate authority, is the one original element in the constitution of Islam, and has served more than anything else to confer upon it its peculiar characteristic of intolerant fanaticism. It was at Medina that the faithful were commanded "to slay the unbelievers wherever they found them," and later on "to make the neighbouring nations feel their strength." They were encouraged by the revelation that fighting in the way of Allah was the most meritorious of all actions, and to fall in battle was to win the martyr's crown. The real end of Mohammed in instituting the holy war, and of his successors in prosecuting it, was extension of empire, not propagation of religion. It was due to no Mohammedan zeal for the conversion of unbelievers, but to their fanatical hatred of all non-Moslems, which made them as insulting and tyrannical in peace as they were merciless in war, that so many weak Eastern races sought a remedy for their evils in professing the faith which secured them equality with their oppressors. The popular idea that conquered nations were given their choice between death and conversion is quite erroneous. On the contrary, the heavy taxes levied on non-Moslem subjects often caused obstacles to be put in the way of intended converts. Neither should we imagine that any Mohammedan understood by martyrdom, as we do, dying as a witness to the truth of one's faith. When placed in a position that demands this supreme act, they are counselled to believe in their heart but deny their faith openly.[1] Nor need they die in battle to win the martyr's crown. Several other deaths merit the same reward; falling down a precipice, for instance, being torn in pieces by a wild beast, dying in a foreign land, of a broken heart,

[1] On this exterior denial of the faith, authorized by Koran and tradition, and considered a duty by the heretics, a privilege by the orthodox, an interesting article of Goldziher in *Z.D.M.G.*, lx. (1906), p. 213 *sq.*, may be consulted. A Moslem preferring death in these circumstances would be regarded by the orthodox as a martyr, not as having borne testimony to his faith, but as having died "in the way of God."

of sea-sickness, etc.[1] The sacred war, then, admits of no extenuation on the score of religious zeal or religious devotedness, while it hindered an interior religious spirit, and fostered arrogance and intolerance, making the faithful look on all mankind as their enemies, and consider the misdeeds their hatred dictated as the highest acts of religion and virtue.

OTHER DUTIES.—Among other institutions, we may only mention as specially worthy of notice the prohibition of wine, swine's flesh, games of chance, and any representation of living beings, the imposition of ablutions after sleep, before entering a mosque and on other occasions, and the practice of circumcision, which is not, indeed, mentioned in the Koran, no doubt because it was so universal in Arabia. We must be, however, more explicit about the marriage laws and the position of woman in Islam.

POLYGAMY AND SLAVERY.—While Mohammed forbade marriage within certain degrees of kindred, and restricted the number of legal wives to four—from both of which precepts he was himself by special revelation exempted—he left slaves completely at the disposal of their masters. Moreover, he allowed a Moslem to divorce at will any one of his legal wives on paying her a small sum of money, and to take another instead. The wife has no rights against her husband, who may punish any infidelity on her side, if proved by four witnesses, by starving her to death. She takes no part in public or social life, but remains shut up in her house, wearing a thick veil in the presence of all men except her lord. Nevertheless, by limiting the number of legal wives and ordering their husbands to be kind to them, by securing the position of slaves who had borne children to their masters, and by giving both these classes admission to such religious consolations as Islam afforded, Mohammed

[1] This extension of martyrdom is based not on the Koran but on tradition, and probably expresses the reaction of the peace party. It is, nevertheless, orthodox belief.

undoubtedly improved their position in Arabia. In doing so, however, he fixed it in a mould that made all further progress impossible. The keeping of four wives, it may be added, is too costly to be usual, and those who have so many reserve to them different suites of apartments.

V

Dogmas of Islam

The founts of dogmatic inspiration are chiefly Jewish—the Bible and later legendary works like the Talmud; and, in a less degree, Christian—mostly the Apocryphal Gospels. It was by hearsay and probably often indirectly, through the Hanīfs, that Mohammed got his very imperfect knowledge of these. He used it especially to enforce three doctrines—Monotheism, Revelation, and Eschatology. Under these three heads, then, we may group our remarks on dogma.

Monotheism.—Idea of God.—In the early Meccan period Mohammed seems to be chiefly impressed by God's omnipotence and consequent unity. He is the Lord of the Universe. The heathen deities are His servants, and to Him their sanctuaries belong. His object in creating is to have obedient creatures. Everything on earth is a proof of His might. Yet to this might there are limitations, two material creatures,[1] co-eternal with Him, the Throne and the Book, of which the former controls His movements, the latter His will. When He left the Throne to create the world it floated alone upon the waters. The Book is also called Mikdār, "might," and according to its dictates He must act in all things.

Persecution at Mecca made Mohammed seek consolation in a new view of God. He is now ar-Rahmān, "the Merciful," to Whom all fine names belong, Who created all things for the service of man. But God, to be merciful, must be free. He is then

[1] Both are borrowed by Mohammed from the Talmud.

no longer dependent on the Book, which is spiritualised into the idea of self-revelation, and identified with the Divine Will. The ground thus gained was more than lost by a consequence Mohammed at once drew from God's freedom. In it he finds the explanation of the obstinacy of the Koraish. "God leads aright whom He will, and leads astray whom He will." And again, "God has created many men and spirits for Hell." Hence sprang the Moslem doctrine of Predestination, at least in its peculiar form.

At Medina there is less anthropomorphism, more spirituality in the idea of the divinity. The attributes of God are mingled together at random, as if they were become mere names without a corresponding reality. His throne embraces heaven and earth. Here, too, comes the express denial of the Trinity, which means, according to Mohammed, that God, Jesus Christ, and the Blessed Virgin are sharers in the Divinity. Yet he had in the Meccan periods frequently spoken of the "Word" and the "Holy Spirit," and explained their procession from the Godhead as the Greek Church does. He probably judged the dogma too exalted and mysterious for the Arabs. The references to the Word had never been so clear as to need retractation.[1] But the Holy Spirit, of whom he had been unable when asked to furnish a satisfactory explanation, he now definitely identified with the angel Gabriel.

ANGELS.—God's court consists of Angels, created out of fire—a Mazdeän idea—winged and mortal. They praise and worship Him, bear His throne, are His messengers to man, whom they guard and for whom they intercede. Their trial was the command to confess by homage their inferiority to Adam. All

[1] He expressed it by "Amr," the Arabic equivalent of the Aramaic "Memra" (in which M is but a formative prefix). As Amr means in Arabic "command," "affair," the sense intended was never quite clear. Indeed Mohammed left several intentional obscurities in the Koran. In calling Jesus the "Word of God," he uses "Kalima," not "Amr."

obeyed except Iblīs, "diabolus," who was, in consequence, cast out of Paradise, and, on obtaining a respite from torment until the general judgement, declared his intention of doing all he could in the meantime to lead man astray. By this story of Jewish origin Mohammed wished to dissuade his countrymen from worshipping three heathen divinities whom he and they identified with the angels. In the later Meccan period he saw his mistake in admitting this identification, and, saying he had been deceived by the devil, struck the revelation in question out of the Koran. He now found at once heathen deities and satellites for Iblīs in the wicked Jinn.

JINN.—The Jinn of Arabic belief were malicious spirits, haunting deserts and solitary places, and especially dangerous to nightly wanderers. Mohammed, however, who interviewed them, declares that some are good, others bad. The good receive the Koran with avidity, hoping from it salvation and the remission of sin. The bad, mounting aloft, seek to divine the secrets of heaven, till stars, hurled by angels on guard, cut short their eavesdropping. This naïve Jewish explanation of meteors served Mohammed to account for and discredit divination, just as the identification of the gods with the satellites of Satan made them not merely inferior, but directly hostile to their worshippers.

REVELATION.—As man, prone to injustice and idolatry, cannot of himself work out his salvation, he must be helped by God, who sends messengers with the divine revelation to lead him back to the right way. Such, according to the Koran, have been sent at all times and to all nations. In the early Meccan period Mohammed mentions seven, of whom three were Arabs, sent to the ancient tribes of Ād, Thamūd, and Madyān, and four Hebrews, Noah, God's envoy to the Antediluvians, Lot, to the cities of the Plain, Abraham, to Nimrod's, and Moses to Pharaoh's court. These messengers, besides being essentially "warners,"

are good but not impeccable men, belonging to and speaking the language of the nation to which they are sent, and charged with a peaceful mission.

In the late Meccan period they have a new name and new characteristics. The Nabī—"prophet," an Aramaic word—is a man specially chosen by God and filled with all graces, "a model of wisdom and piety, a light shining in the darkness of heathenism." While Adam, the "chosen of God," Abraham, the "friend of God," Moses with the Pentateuch, David with the Psalms, Elias, Elisæus, and many other famous figures of the Old Testament, give flesh and blood to this new idea, Jesus is its noblest embodiment, the choicest type under which Mohammed veils the new dignity he wishes to assume. Sprung from a most pure and virgin mother through the operation of the "Spirit" (Gabriel?), gifted with the power of speech and the "book"[1] immediately after his birth, blessed by God in all his ways, messenger, prophet, doer of good, healer of the sick, wonder-worker, Word of God, Spirit of God, Messias, he receives every honour Mohammed can give him save alone that of the Divinity. His crucifixion, too, "to the Gentiles foolishness," is explained away as it was by the Docetics. Another man (Judas in the apocryphal gospel of Barnabas) is substituted by God and crucified in his stead. Christ himself is taken up to heaven, and, on his solemnly testifying that he never claimed divine honour, is permitted to enjoy his reward.

New materials at Medina effected no essential change in the prophets, while adding many details to the Scriptural narratives. Here, too, the three Arabian messengers drop out of the Koran. They had never shown off to advantage in prophetic garb, and their old rôle of peaceful preacher was quite inconsistent with that Mohammed now assumed of warrior and autocrat.

Mohammed inculcated on the faithful belief in the

[1] *i.e.* Revelation.

revelations received by all the prophets from the heavenly Archetype, the "Mother of the Book," and mutually corroborating one another. He often commends the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Gospel, while declaring that much of their contents, and especially the passages foretelling his coming, have been either misunderstood or falsified by the Jews and Christians.[1] These sacred books must then be confirmed and explained by the Koran, which is the perfection of revelation, just as Mohammed is the "seal of the prophets."

ESCHATOLOGY.—This cardinal point in his religious system Mohammed borrowed especially from Christian sources, leaving out, however, much that was essential, and interpreting literally what was clearly metaphorical.

DEATH, JUDGEMENT.—After the separation of the soul from the body, the latter returns to earth, the former spends a long unconscious period in the sleep or inebriation of death, till the day of general judgement arrives. This great day, ushered in by terrifying signs and wonders, displays, to the astonished gaze of the newly-risen, God come to judge them, borne on a throne by eight angels and surrounded by His heavenly court. Man's irrevocable doom is then declared by a document, copied from the great open recording-book, and placed in his right or left hand according as its contents are favourable or unfavourable, or—a later account—by a balance in which his actions are weighed before his eyes, and found to be heavy and good, or light and worthless. The eternal[2] rewards and

[1] Jesus, he says, foretold the coming of a prophet called "Ahmad," another form of Mohammed, meaning "most illustrious." Later theologians applied this text to the promise of the Paraclete, saying *periclytos*, "most honourable," had been falsified into *paracletos*, "paraclete"—a conclusive argument for Semites, with whom vowels, being generally unwritten, have little critical value.

[2] Once only in a late Meccan sura Mohammed adds to eternity the qualification "unless God will otherwise," but in a later (Medina) sura he expressly denies, against the Jews, that the pains of the damned will have an end.

punishments which immediately follow we shall let Mohammed himself describe.

HELL.—"The wicked shall be in hot blasts and boiling water, and a shade of pitchy smoke. They shall broil upon a burning fire; shall be given to drink from a boiling spring. No food shall they have save from the foul thorn,[1] which shall not fatten nor avail against hunger. For them are cut out garments of fire; there shall be poured over their heads boiling water, wherewith what is in their bellies shall be dissolved and their skins too; and for them are maces of iron. When their skins are burnt away we will renew them that they may taste the torment."

HEAVEN.—"The portion of the good shall be eternal peace and joy in a paradise of pleasure furnished with branching trees and gushing springs, rivers of water without corruption, and rivers of milk, the taste whereof changes not, and rivers of wine, delicious to those who drink, and rivers of honey clarified; therein reclining upon gold-weft couches face to face, they shall see neither sun nor piercing cold; and close down upon them shall be its shadows, and lowered over them its fruits to cull. On them shall be garments of green embroidered satin and brocade, and they shall be adorned with bracelets of silver. Around them shall go eternal youths with goblets and ewers and a cup of flowing wine; no headache shall they feel therefrom, nor shall their wits be dimmed. They shall have fruits — dates, grapes, pomegranates, bananas—such as they deem the best, and flesh of fowl as they desire; and for their brides, gazelle-eyed maids, pure as pearls in their shells, virgins with modest glances and swelling breasts, and gifted with eternal youth—a reward for what they have done."

The obvious and sufficient explanation of "the Prophet's paradise" is furnished by Arabian sensu-

[1] The unbelievers, we are told, asked how could a tree grow in hell, since the fire, according to another passage, "consumed men and stones."

ality. Just as heaven is the Red Indians' happy hunting ground, so was it for Mohammed and his companions a place of sensual gratification. There is absolutely no indication that he meant his descriptions to be allegorical, or that he had any conception of the possession or privation of God as the essential element of happiness or misery, a doctrine first advanced by later theologians.

VI

Development of Islam

The Primacy Difficulty.—Mohammed, dying without male heir, left no means of deciding who was to succeed him, save the oracular declaration, "God gives the sovereignty to whom He will." The result was the formation of three different parties. The Sunnīs or orthodox upheld here as elsewhere the great principle of Ijmā, "agreement." Even an impious usurper, were he once recognised by the Moslem world, was rightful king and high-priest of Islam.[1] The Chārijīs acknowledged nobody as ruler who was not pious and law-abiding, and elected by the free vote of the people. These saintly democrats caused much trouble, but never reached political importance, though their religious opinions are still professed by scattered remnants of the sect in North and East Africa. Far more important were the Shīahs, "sectaries," who advocated the hereditary rights of the family of Mohammed, assigning to his first-cousin and son-in-law, "the wronged Ali," and his descendants, supreme civil and religious power as well as impeccability and doctrinal infallibility. They utterly rejected "Ijmā," and acknowledged no tradition or usage which was not traced immediately to Mohammed, his daughter Fatima, her husband Ali, and their descendants. The rightful rulers, "Imāms,"

[1] At present the Sultan exercises his religious functions through the Sheikhu-l-Islam, his civil ones through the Grand Vizier.

were subsequently declared to be twelve in number, of whom the last, hidden away as a child from his fellow-men, will appear again as the Imām Mahdi at the end of time, and redeem the world. This doctrine naturally resulted in the establishment by the reappearing Mahdi or his vicegerents of numerous sects, which professed strange and extravagant beliefs. The present Shīahs are mostly confined to Persia and British India. They seem to have aspired higher, and fallen lower, than their orthodox brethren.

THE DOGMA DIFFICULTY.—The contradictions and evolutionary doctrine of the Koran scarcely needed the added influence of false traditions and foreign beliefs to occasion dogmatic strife. The Motazelites, "seceders," representing Greek philosophy and Persian intellect—though native Arabs originated the movement—have been compared to the Rationalists and the Scholastics; and if they resembled the former in their tendency, they approached closer to the latter in their doctrines. First appearing about the year 750, they enjoyed for a century free discussion, and even court favour, under the early Abbaside monarchs, till a usurper, needing the support of the people, forbade disputes, and persecuted those who refused to submit to the orthodox views. There was no real effort made to refute their arguments till the tenth century, when Al-Asharī, a converted Motazelite, employed in the defence of faith the weapons with which he had formerly attacked it. He admitted too much, however, to please popular taste, and it was only in the following century that Moslem faith and reason were reconciled, as far as that was possible, by the famous ascetic and philosopher, al-Ghazālī, the Aquinas of Islam. A brief account of the points disputed and the results arrived at will complete our knowledge of Mohammedan dogma.

The popular view that Mohammed was by nature impeccable and infallible from the moment of his birth was strongly opposed by the Motazelites, who, at

most, would have both these qualities date only from the period of his prophetic calling. They had on their side the declaration of the Koran that he had gone astray in his youth like his heathen countrymen, till God led him to the right path. But did not the Koran also declare that he was the "seal of the prophets," and therefore greater than Jesus, who yet cried out immediately after his birth, "I have received the book and been named prophet"? And who did not believe the consoling tradition that after the last judgement, when no other prophet dares to raise his voice to God in favour of his people, Mohammed will successfully intercede for condemned Moslems, and lead them off with him to Paradise? No wonder, then, that al-Asharī's distinction between actual impeccability and natural impeccability was considered insufficient. Al-Ghazālī had to explain away the tell-tale revelation, and let tradition decide the nature of the Prophet.

Mohammed declared the Koran the only true and perfect copy of the heavenly exemplar, which he first understood as a material book, and subsequently identified with God himself. Hence resulted a superstitious worship of the book, as possessing something of the Divine nature, and a belief that the letters and sounds revealed—some even included the binding and cover—were uncreated. While the Motazelites denied the eternity of anything material, and Al-Asharī tried to confine the belief to the heavenly exemplar, orthodoxy remained unsatisfied till it was declared an article of faith under the death-penalty that everything between the two covers of the Koran was uncreated and eternal.[1]

The belief that man's eternal happiness or misery depended on God's arbitrary determination, not on his own actions, was also attacked by the Motazelites. They declared man is fully free; only for his free acts can he be judged; God has not power to cause the evil actions of men, nor to reward or punish arbitrarily, but according to man's relation to the moral

[1] Al-Asharī's opinion now prevails.

law. The Koran could, indeed, be cited for either party, but it was more favourable to the popular view. Al-Ghazālī, therefore, held to the traditional belief, and defended it, like Calvin some centuries later, by declaring man had no rights against God. How God's Infinite Sanctity could be the cause of moral evil, and how His Infinite Mercy could damn men without giving them a chance of securing their salvation, he did not pretend to explain. Fatalistic doctrines have ever since predominated in Islam, and have done much to destroy the activity of Moslem nations.

The dispute about the nature of God resulted in a victory for the people over the philosophers in a purely metaphysical question and an absurdly literal interpretation of the Koran. The Divine Attributes were pronounced really distinct from the Divine Essence, and Koranical references to the face and hands of the Divinity were declared to be, not a human way of speaking, but founded on fact. Further speculation on this fact was expressly forbidden.

We must ascribe the denial of the Resurrection of the body—a direct attack on revealed religion—to dissatisfaction with the Koranic doctrine of sensual beatitude, no less than acceptance of Plato's view of death as the soul's longed-for liberation from her earthly prison. Here, as in deciding the relation of grace and free-will to future happiness or misery, the orthodox only escaped Scylla to fall into Charybdis. They declared the soul remained with the body in the tomb till the last judgement, and could not live or act or be happy without it.

It may be asked what was the merit of Al-Ghazālī in all this. He supported traditional beliefs by reason, or at least by emphasizing the fact that they were revealed truths, and made them religious, yet not extravagant, by a judicious combination of mysticism and scholasticism. At the same time, he very wisely recommended all to practise piety, and let dogmatic difficulties severely alone. His word was henceforth law in Islam.

INNOVATIONS.—We can only give a brief mention to three non-Koranical doctrines which quickly found their way into orthodox Islam, and were confirmed by the great principle of Ijmā.

Sufism—so called from the garment of coarse wool, "sufa," worn by its adherents—is a combination of asceticism and mysticism. Though Mohammed had expressly declared "No monks in Islam; the holy war is the monasticism of Islam," yet when the war fever began to abate there were some who wished to devote their lives to denial of self, and union with God. Originating in Syria, no doubt largely through Christian influence, the movement spread eastwards, gathering strength and assimilating native elements in India, and especially in Persia, where it was first organized. Its mystic element, ecstatic union with and self-annihilation in the Divinity, was borrowed partly from Neo-Platonic philosophy, partly from Veda Pantheism and Buddhist Nirvana. Though Sufism fostered an interior religious spirit, opposed alike to the fanaticism of the warrior and the strife and hair-splitting of the ritualists and dogmatists, and numbered not a few noble souls in its ranks, it led more generally to excessive pride, Pantheistic beliefs, and the destruction of moral order. The dervishes founded in the twelfth century are its modern representatives—"choicest vagabonds from every nation of Islam" Burton calls his dervish companions. There are howling, turning, and dancing dervishes, names sufficiently characterising religious exercises in which reason is dethroned by fancy, and asceticism and piety become jugglery and extravagance.

Devotion to the Saints, expressly forbidden by the Koran, existed in ancient Arabia in the form of ancestor worship, and was found by the Moslem conquerors in Persia, India, Syria, and elsewhere. The special veneration felt for Mohammed and his early companions was, then, all that was needed to determine its universal adoption. The shrines of

conquered lands were usually left intact, receiving the title of some Moslem walī,[1] "saint." There were Puritans found, however, towards the end of the eighteenth century, who took scandal at this and every other innovation—especially tobacco—and enforced their views with sword and cudgel. These fanatics, called Wahhābīs after their founder, descending from the Arabian highlands, levelled the Shīah sanctuaries at Kerbela and the orthodox shrines at Mecca and Medina, but were compelled to retire by Egyptian troops. They still form a powerful kingdom in Central Arabia, and are the best modern representatives of the real religion of the Koran.

Messianism in the Jewish sense—the coming of an ideal ruler before the end of the world to restore Islam—is a universal belief, though of course premature attempts to realize it, like those recently made in the Soudan and Somaliland, are unorthodox. Still more so is its extension in the Christian sense to the incarnation of the Divinity in Ali and other descendants of Mohammed—a doctrine which originated among the Shīahs, and was carried further by later sects like the Ismaelīs and the Nosairīs. While Messianism in its earliest form can be traced to discontent with the ruling powers and the preaching of a Jewish proselyte, its later development was, no doubt, determined by the religious need of a closer contact and more intimate relation with an immaterial God—a need so admirably satisfied for us when "the Word was made Flesh and dwelt among us."

VII

Concluding Remarks

Our criticism of Islam may be brief, as we have given the reader such materials as enable him to form

[1] Wălī is to be carefully distinguished from Wālĭ, the governor of a Turkish province, who is usually very far removed from even the Moslem idea of sanctity.

a judgement for himself. Its spirit, fundamentally different from that of Christianity, is based on a false conception of God. He is not a father, but a master, merciful indeed, but, like an Eastern despot, distributing arbitrarily rewards and punishments. Hence came the belief that all except the faithful are created for hell, and must be irreconcilable enemies of God and His servants; hence the conception of heaven as a freedom from servitude and the duties it imposes, rather than a son's happiness in his father's presence. We say nothing of the heathen practices connected with Mecca and the pilgrimage, which were indeed offensive to some of Mohammed's early companions, but are partially excused by their supposed connection with Abraham. Its corrupt morals appear, for instance, in the encouragement of polygamy, divorce, and slavery in its worst aspect. It has absurd dogmas, mysteries, not transcending human understanding like the Trinity and the Incarnation, but directly contradicting it, like the impeccability of Mohammed and the divinity of the Koran. With all these faults, it claims to be the perfection of revelation, absolutely superior to all other religions—a claim which naturally produces pride, stagnation, and intolerance. Finally, the whole religious structure has no rational foundation.

While such is the religion of the Koran, it would be wrong to think that all Moslems possess the spirit which characterises it. Especially in countries where freedom reigns, like Egypt and India, and even now in much of the Turkish empire itself, many look on their fellow-men in quite a different light. But the more educated they are, the less faithful they become to their religion, for Islam is and must be the religion of the poor and ignorant, who carry out its more difficult precepts with edifying exactitude. Requiring a blind faith and satisfying natural religious needs without forbidding to gratify the baser passions, it is well adapted to uncivilised races, as were, to a great extent, the Arabs for whom it was originally intended,

and as are the African negroes, among whom alone it makes converts to-day. For such it is—in the absence of Christianity, to which, however, it completely bars the way—an undoubted boon, as it corrects many abuses, admits every class to its ranks, enforces religious equality, and preaches the great truths of Monotheism, Revelation, and Eternal Life. Nor have any others submitted peacefully to its yoke. The defection of the weak races of the Mediterranean was determined by the fanaticism of their conquerors. The Persians, the only brave race that could be constrained to accept it in a body, abandoned for it, not Christianity, but Mazdeism, and were foremost in the movement to give it a rational foundation on Greek philosophy, and make it more deeply religious by means of Sufism and Messianism. They are to-day schismatics, bitterly hated by their Mohammedan brethren.

Though Islam now boasts more than 200,000,000 adherents, the warrior spirit which once animated it is long since departed; its faith grows ever more and more feeble before the increasing light of knowledge; its forces, internally disunited and scattered over three continents, foredoom to failure all Panislamic efforts. We need not, then, fear a repetition of the days when a Moslem army threatened European civilization before the walls of Vienna.

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THE RELIGION OF THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES

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At the time of the Reformation a spirit of universal questioning was let loose. St. Gregory once wrote that John the Faster, patriarch of Constantinople, by claiming to be universal bishop, was a forerunner of Antichrist If Muhammad, who shortly after appeared, be a manifestation of Antichrist, no less is Luther Antichurch. Luther only at first professed that the Church had undergone a Babylonish captivity, from which he would free her, but speedily all idea of submission to the Pope, even though "well-informed," disappeared, and all deference to councils.

The various Reformers did not severally embrace one error only, keeping their followers orthodox in the main and adhering to the hierarchical system, although certain German bishops were desirous of perpetuating a reforming hierarchy; but the whole cycle of the Faith was questioned.

The Church, to meet the errors propagated on all sides, convoked the Council of Trent; the decrees and catechism of the Council, and the Creed of Pope Pius the Fourth, furnished the necessary weapons.

But the Reformers themselves felt the need of some statements of doctrine expressing their ideas. Hence a bewildering mass of confessions of faith, not expressed in creeds or decrees of any assemblies, but in Articles.

In England, when the authority of the Pope was cast off in 1534, heresy and sectarianism grew apace. At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, Archbishop Heath exhorted the Queen not to forsake the loving mother, the Church of Rome, "for we are like to be drowned in a sea of sects." A true forecast indeed! Sects are spoken of in the time of Mary as having flourished under Edward VI. Knox's friends at Frankfort, in 1555, when quarrelling with Cox, who desired to retain the use of the surplice which Ridley thought to have been wisely abandoned, said: "The evil shall never be redressed, neither shall there ever be an end of this controversy in England." Again a true forecast. At the end of Edward VI.'s reign Hooper writes:—"New ones (heresies) are springing up every day. There are such libertines and wretches, who are daring enough in their conventicles not only to deny that Christ is the Messiah and Saviour of the world, but also to call that blessed seed a mischievous fellow and deceiver of the world."

A correspondent of Bullinger writes in 1551:—"We have not only to contend with the papists . . . . but much more with the sectaries and epicureans and pseudo-evangelicals. In addition to ancient errors respecting pædo-baptism, the incarnation of Christ . . . . new ones are rising up every day. . . . The chief opponents of Christ's divinity are the Arians, who are now beginning to shake our churches with greater violence than ever." English sectarianism is clearly not, as modern romance would have us think, the product of the Elizabethan age; it was the outcome of the spirit which itself gave the Anglican religion birth.

At an earlier date a dialogue represents a priest bidding a layman admire clerical cheeks pale with study; to whom the layman replies, "Ye do nothing but set honest folks by the ears with your dis-

putations." Throughout the Reformation period the innovators, no more than Catholics themselves, desired to set up any mere national religion, or local church and worship independent of any foreign body. Cranmer, especially, set his heart on forming one Protestant society. The English were in close and constant communication with the foreign Reformers, especially with Germans, Swiss, and French. Henry VIII. more than once seems to have contemplated some kind of union with the Germans; indeed Heath, the last Catholic Archbishop of York, was employed on one occasion to this end. In Mary's reign, the exiles knew exactly how to distribute themselves and to what cities to go.

From all this the need of Articles expressing the new faith as it was interpreted by those in power is evident, unless chaos was to end the new era. That the definitions of faith should take the form of Articles was the result of the desire to keep in close touch with foreign Reformers, who used this literary form to set out their beliefs.

The first formulary put forth in the Church of England after the separation was the Ten Articles of 1536. The King, through Cromwell, announced to Convocation his desire to end controversies "through the determination of you and his whole parliament." The Articles, when approved by the King, were published under this title:—"Articles devised by the Kinges highness majestie, to stablish Christen quietnes and unitie among us, and to avoid contentious opinions .... approved by .... the hole clergie...."

They represent perhaps the opinions of the Supreme Head and of the Reformers in the year 1536. The sacraments are reduced, as amongst the Lutherans, to three—Baptism, Penance, and Eucharist. The word Transubstantiation is carefully avoided. Power of remission of venial sins is denied to sacramentals;

images and certain practices are to be retained, not, however, on the ground of the authority of the Church, but of suitability. The Articles were these:—I. Principal articles of the faith. II. Sacrament of baptism. III. Sacrament of penance. IV. Sacrament of the altar. V. Justification. VI. Of images. VII. Of honouring of saints. VIII. Of praying to saints. IX. Of rites and ceremonies. X. Of purgatory.

Negotiations with the foreign Reformers, taken in hand from the time of the schism in 1534, bore fruit in 1537 in the shape of a formulary called *The Institution of a Christian Man*, popularly known as the Bishops' Book. As it was not passed by Convocation or Parliament, it lacked authority. In it seven sacraments are retained, but a marked distinction is drawn between Baptism, Penance, the Eucharist, and the rest.

In 1539 the celebrated Six Articles, or "Whip with Six Strings," were issued by the King, and in 1543 appeared a revised edition of the Bishops' Book, "set forth by the King's majesty of England," and containing a preface by the Supreme Head. Henry, who invariably acted through forms of law, caused the book entitled *The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man* to receive the sanction of Convocation. In it Transubstantiation, though not by name, is maintained, celibacy of the clergy is enforced, the exaltation of three over the four other sacraments is omitted, and extreme unction is treated with renewed respect.

It is now time to approach closer to the Thirty-nine Articles, and to show that their origin was no mere production of a "national" church, reforming herself by "catholic antiquity." The Confession of Augsburg was drawn up by Melanchthon, revised by Luther, and presented to the Emperor at the Diet, in 1530. It contained twenty-eight Articles. In 1538

Henry invited some Lutheran theologians to England to confer with Cranmer and others, with a view to comprehending English and Germans in one communion. Amongst Cranmer's papers has been found a set of Thirteen Articles, the result of the conference. These Articles influenced the Forty-two Articles, the formulary of Edward VI.

An early draft of the Forty-two Articles seems to have been required for subscription in 1549, for Hooper, afterwards Edwardian bishop of Gloucester, writes:—"The Archbishop of Canterbury entertains right views as to the nature of Christ's presence in the Supper . . . . he has some articles of religion . . . . in these his sentiments respecting the eucharist are pure and religious, and similar to yours in Switzerland" —that is, purely Zwinglian; Cranmer's language, and that of the Judicious Hooker, the pupil of Jewel, are almost identical. In May 1552 they were laid before the Council. Approved by certain bishops, six royal chaplains, the King's secretary and his tutor, they were issued June 19, 1553, in the King's name, and subscription required. They were "Articles . . . . for the avoiding of controversy in opinions, and the establishment of a godly concord in certain matters of religion." Apparently the only sanction was "the King's majesty's authority, 1553."

They were not meant to be a complete system of theology, and differ from the Thirty-nine Articles in these points:—there is nothing on the Divinity of Christ, no article on the Holy Ghost, no enumeration of the books of Scripture, no mention of confirmation or penance; some Catholic doctrines and Anabaptist or extreme Protestant errors are condemned that escape notice in the Elizabethan articles.

Amongst the Catholic doctrines plainly condemned is this:—"A faithful man ought not either to believe or openly to confess the real and bodily presence (as they term it) of Christ's flesh and blood in the Sacra-

ment of the Lord's Supper." Taken in connection with the declaration in the Prayer Book of 1552,—"It is not meant . . . . that any adoration is done . . . . to any real or essential presence . . . . of Christ's natural flesh and blood"—and with the abolition in that book of altars and vestments—the minister standing at the north side of a board on trestles placed lengthwise in the nave of the church—the doctrine of the Reformers in 1552–3 on the Eucharist is clear. It is true that these two statements and the practices were modified afterwards, to the disgust of the Puritans, in order to tolerate more views than the Zwinglian.

On the accession of Elizabeth these articles were not revived. Parker, in 1559, provided Eleven Articles for all the clergy to read publicly. But in 1563 Convocation reduced the Forty-two Articles to thirty-eight or thirty-nine, the Queen, as Supreme Governor, prefixing to Article XX. a clause "on the power of the Church to decree rites," in order to assert her ecclesiastical power against the Puritans; and again, the Queen omitted Article XXIX, as denying the Real Presence, in which she had told the Spanish Ambassador she believed: "I believe in the Real Presence, and do now and then pray to the Virgin Mary." But it was restored in 1571.

It is scarcely worth while to set forth all the differences between the Forty-two and Thirty-nine Articles; but it may be noted that Parker, often cited as an example of a "high churchman," desired to retain the phrase "no one must . . . . either believe or profess . . . . a real and corporal . . . . presence"; also that his additions were taken from the Würtemberg Confession.

The Queen seems either to have disliked the Articles or to have deemed it impolitic to enforce them; and she resisted every attempt to take their

sanction out of her hands as Supreme Governor, and submit them to Parliament. However, after she was excommunicated in 1570, she yielded to the strong Protestant feeling that set in, and in 1571 an Act was passed requiring all those Marian priests who had conformed to sign them, and hereafter all clergy.

It only remains to add that the publication of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and the teaching of Andrewes and of his disciple, Laud, gave birth to a reaction against the doctrine and practice that had prevailed since the time of Edward VI. Controversies raged between Calvinist and Arminian. To end these, Laud advised Charles I. to prefix to the Thirty-nine Articles a declaration, probably drawn up by Laud himself, to the effect that the Articles should be taken in the literal and grammatical sense, the *animus imponentis* being disregarded. Thus issued by authority of the Supreme Governor of the Church of England, it has kept its place to the present day. "We hold it most agreeable to our kingly office . . . . to conserve the church: . . . . we will not endure any varying," etc.

Every Anglican clergyman publicly announces, "I assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion," and every incumbent admitted to a benefice is required to read the Articles publicly in church the first Sunday on which he officiates.

It is time to give some exposition of the Articles themselves. They may be thus divided:—

I.–V., The Holy Trinity.

VI.–VIII., Scripture and the Creeds.

IX.–XVIII., Personal Religion, Anthropology.

XIX. – XXXVI., Corporate Religion, Church, Ministry, Sacraments.

XXXVII., Supreme Headship of the Church.

XXXVIII., XXXIX., Miscellaneous.

I. The first, "Of faith in the Holy Trinity," is largely

taken from the Confession of Augsburg, and was called for by the enormous spread of Anabaptism (*i.e.* dissent or sectarianism) in this country. Many "Anabaptists" had lost all faith in the Trinity, some denied our Lord's Divinity, some held Him to be a mere man, others denied more than one Person in the Godhead. So formidably had denial increased within a few years of the breach with the Catholic Church.

II. The second, "Of the Word, or Son of God, which was made very man," is taken almost entirely from the Lutheran Confession noticed above; the framers and revisers of the Articles preferring to make use of the language of Augsburg rather than embodying their statements in patristic or scholastic language. This Article also was directed—for it must not be forgotten that the Articles do not form a body of divinity, a *summa theologica*, but are for "avoiding diversities of opinions"—against the Anabaptists. Elizabeth, indeed, found it necessary to burn at the stake two Dutch Arians in 1575, and a man at Norwich in 1579, who called Christ "an abominable idol."

III. The third, "Of the going down of Christ into hell," is scarcely of greater length than the statement in the Lutheran Confession. Cranmer's words, "that His ghost departing from Him was with the ghosts in prison or hell," etc., are shortened. Violent controversies in some places in this country and various theories on the descent into hell were raised in Edward VI.'s reign, and have raged ever since. The Bishop of Exeter in 1553 wrote:—"There have been in my diocese great invectives between the preachers . . . . some holding that the going down of Christ into hell was nothing else than the virtue and strength of Christ, His death . . . . others say that *descendit ad inferna* is nothing else but that Christ did sustain upon the cross the infernal pains of hell." Calvin taught that the descent into hell consisted in suffering

the torments of Gehenna. So also Bishop Pearson, in his treatise *On the Creed*, a text-book for Anglican candidates for ordination, writes:—"He went into those regions of darkness that our souls might never come into those torments that are there." But the confused eschatology of the Articles will be noted later on. As the Reformers taught that all souls went to heaven or to Gehenna, the meaning this Article bears is that of Calvin and Pearson.

IV. The fourth, "Of the Resurrection of Christ," employs stronger language than its Lutheran original, stating that Christ "took again His body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature." Cranmer's *Reformatio Legum* informs us that (in 1553) pernicious and various error (in spite of two vernacular prayer-books) on the natures of Christ stalked abroad, some holding that the human nature was swallowed up by the divine at the Resurrection. Hence the necessity of the language of the Article.

V. The fifth, "Of the Holy Ghost," calls for no remark on the score of doctrine. It was taken by Parker from the Würtemberg Confession, another proof of the deference of the English Reformers to the German. In 1538, only four years after the severance of England from the Holy See, sectarians here taught that the Word was a spoken sound, the Spirit a mode of motion. In 1553 the "execrable impudence" of those who did not acknowledge the Holy Ghost as God had not been altered by an open Bible and vernacular services; and, a hundred years later, Bishop Pearson has to bewail the fact that Macedonians (as well as Arians) abounded. The Article was indeed needed.

So far the Articles have dealt with the doctrine of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation. Four were written, from Lutheran sources, to protest against errors which denied the Lord who bought us, newly

sprung up with freedom from ancient authority; and one has been continuously misinterpreted. It cannot be too often repeated that the sects which, under the name of "Saints," appeared above the political horizon at the Commonwealth period did not originate at that time, but have flourished, openly or quietly, from the abolition of Papal supremacy until to-day, as Anabaptists, Puritans, Fanatics, Dissenters, Nonconformists, or Free Churchmen; and to some extent Churchmen may be themselves included in these ranks, Nestorianism having at the present a strong hold upon them, as witnessed by the popularity of Nestorianizing Lives of Christ. *Cf.* L. xxv. 3, 8.

VI. The sixth, "Of the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for salvation," claims attention. It tells us, "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation" —a statement which Scripture itself nowhere makes— "so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man. . . ." Not, of course, the Pope, not general Councils, "which may err . . . . in things pertaining unto God"; not the Creeds, which are themselves to be tested by the Reformers (Article VIII.); not the general sense of Christendom, which was ascertained, shortly before the epoch of Luther, at the Council of Ferrara = Florence, 1439, Latins and Greeks and others being found to be at one; not the first six centuries—not any of these can assuredly guide the Christian. In the last resort, Scripture is the sole source of faith, Scripture interpreted partly by Luther, more clearly by Zwingli, Calvin, Henry VIII., Cranmer, and Parker. Cranmer, in the parliamentary debate in 1548, could not read in Scripture, nor prove thereby, even the Real Presence. Of course this, for example, has never been required in the Church of England of any man. Luther could read that belief in Scripture, but not the eucharistic sacrifice, nor any priesthood.

But what is Scripture? What constitutes "the

open Bible"? "In the name of Holy Scripture we (the Reformers) do understand those canonical books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church." A list of thirty-eight books, that is, the Hebrew and Chaldee Bible, according to the modern Jewish Massoretic text, is selected to form the true canon. This selection cannot be based upon the principles of language, for a great portion of Daniel is not in Hebrew, but Chaldee; if Greek vitiates the canonicity of Old Testament books, why should it not destroy the value of the Gospels? "The other books . . . . the Church doth read . . . . yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine," such as prayers and alms for the departed. The books of the New Testament are received.

Observe the inconsistency in the Article. Scripture consists of canonical books of the Old Testament—the Jewish canon—"of which never was any doubt." An incorrect statement, for St. Athanasius, including the Greek Baruch, excludes the Hebrew Esther. Then, finally, the Article states, "All the books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive and account them canonical." If the Reformers receive the New Testament as commonly received by the Catholic Church, by the Greeks, and by Eastern sects in 1563, why not receive the Old Testament as received at that time? If, on the other hand, the "Apocrypha" is uncanonical, because the books composing it were questioned at times, how can they accept 2 St. Peter, 2 and 3 St. John, St. Jude, and the Apocalypse? Luther spoke of these "antilegomena" and of St. James and Hebrews with varying degrees of disrespect; and the Article was framed to shelter those who wished to place any books, as many Anglicans now place Daniel and certain Psalms, below the level of the canon. Henry VIII. had thrust on the Church polemical translations of

the Bible by Tyndale and Coverdale, which Convocation had pronounced untrustworthy. Coverdale, in 1535, separated in his edition the "Apocrypha" from "the canon" of the Old Testament.

The Church of England, in her Article, claims authority to lay down what is or is not Scripture, and she has put out a Bible of her own, differing from the Catholic Bible, and apparently from that of the Easterns (at least as defined in 1672). The Bible in use among English-speaking Protestants is, then, simply the Bible of the English Reformers, and of Article VI., arbitrarily, without all authority, for the first time in history, thus put together. The Reformers in this bowed to no authority, certainly not to that of the Bible itself. The "Apocrypha" is not usually bound up with English Bibles at the present day. *Cf.* L. xviii. 2; xx. 5.

VII. The seventh, "Of the Old Testament," asserts that the Old Testament is not contrary to the New, that the Moral Law in it still binds, and that the old Fathers did not only look for transitory promises; it is directed against those who—at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign—contended that no one was bound by the moral law, and also against those who, like the Anabaptists of Münster in Westphalia (now happily a Catholic town) in 1533, wished to set up a "New Jerusalem."

VIII. The eighth, "Of the three Creeds," tells how the Nicene Creed, Athanasius' Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed ought thoroughly to be received and believed. Needless to say, the swarms of sectarians plaguing the land, like frogs in Egypt, from 1536 to to-day, many perhaps at the earlier date Lollards come to the light of day, ignored these Symbols, and the faith contained in them. Hence the Article. But the Article was powerless to keep all the members of the "New Church of England," as our Catholic forefathers

called it, true to belief in all the Articles of all the Creeds. The Protestant Episcopal Church of America has dropped the use of the Athanasian Symbol, as in like manner has the Irish Church; and a very strong movement, supported by perhaps a majority of bishops, deans, dignitaries, and scholars, gathers force in the Anglican Church to-day to expunge the Creed from public worship, where it is in use thirteen times a year. The prayer-book omits the word "Holy" as a note of the One Catholic and Apostolic Church in the Nicene Creed, and the Protestant American Church the clause "He descended into hell" from the Apostles' Creed.

The ground of reception of the Creeds is not, of course, the fact of their reception by Popes, or by the whole Church, or by a general council such as was Nicæa, but because "they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture," by the Reformers who wrote the Thirty-nine Articles. Protestant churchmen in America, or in Ireland, and a vast number at least in England, no longer think that the Athanasian Creed can be proved by Scripture, and in the latter case they have so publicly stated. Indeed, St. Cyril of Jerusalem pointed out that "consubstantial" was not a Scriptural expression: the schismatic Greeks deny the *Filioque* to be a Scriptural phrase. In modern polite language, scholars must ultimately judge and test theological statements by Scripture and history, and so the finality of the Creed vanishes.

In these three Articles the Protestant position is clearly laid down: The Bible, consisting of books approved by the English Reformers, is the rule of faith; they interpret it, and test everything, the three Creeds included, by that interpretation, rejecting the authority of Pope, Church, and Council.

IX. The ninth, "Of original or birth sin," is directed against the Pelagians and (as stated in the Article

of 1553) Anabaptists, who "deny oryginall sinne." The Council of Trent regards original sin as a "loss of holiness and righteousness," a privation; the Article styles it "the vice and depravation of nature," something positive. This is also opposed to the teaching of the Greek Fathers, as well as of St. Thomas Aquinas. The concupiscence, popularly believed to be original sin, remaining in the regenerate (*in renatis*), is said to have the nature of sin (*ratio peccati*); the Council of Trent teaches that by baptism "all that has *ratio peccati* is taken away." If sin is the transgression of the law, or *ἀνομία*, obviously concupiscence cannot have the *ratio peccati*. The Thirteen Articles, the Confessio Helvetica, the Formula Concordiæ, the Westminster Confession, all teach that concupiscence is *vere peccatum* — as probably does this Article. *Cf.* L. xviii. 24; xx. 23; xxiii. 18.

X. The tenth, "Of freewill," has no correspondence between title and contents. The first half is taken directly from the Würtemberg Confession: "The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn . . . . by his own natural strength and good works to faith . . . .," and seems to deny the Catholic doctrine of congruous merit, and is opposed to the history of Cornelius in the Acts of the Apostles. An Article of 1553 asserting the freedom of the will, and the power of grace to raise the weak and convert the wicked, was omitted by Parker, in order not to offend those who had imbibed the doctrine of the "indefectibility of grace"; a tenet closely connected with Calvin's theory of predestination. Parker probably did not intend to allow freedom to the will, for he writes in 1559, "They say that the realm is full of Anabaptists, Arians, Libertines, Freewill men."

XI. The eleventh, "Of the justification of man," affirms that "we are accounted (*reputamur*) righteous . . . . only for the merit of our Lord . . . . by faith, and

not for our own works . . . . we are justified by faith only. . . ." Luther, as Mozley has shown, was of a restless, dissatisfied disposition, ever seeking mental peace. Failing to find it by means of the ordinary channels of spiritual life, he excogitated the idea that belief or assurance of certain salvation brought actual salvation in its train. This became the "article of a standing or falling church." The Epistle of St. James, who wrote that "by works a man is justified, and not by faith only," became "an epistle of straw." The popular teaching of revivalists to-day is, "Be converted, you are saved; cease thy doing, all was done long, long ago." The Article does not mention the causes of justification, final, efficient, meritorious, instrumental (baptism), or formal (infused justice). The Council of Trent condemns those who teach that by this faith (a man's belief that he is saved and cannot fall) alone justification is perfected. The Article, largely indebted to the Confessions of Augsburg and Würtemberg, is at least inadequate. *Cf.* xxiii. 18, etc.

XII. The twelfth, "Of good works," begins with a statement extracted by Parker from the Augsburg Confession, ". . . . good works . . . . cannot endure the severity of God's judgement. . . ." Certainly not, if, as Luther taught, the best work is a venial sin; and again, every work of the just is damnable and a mortal sin, if judged by God's judgement. The Article does indeed go on to say that good works "are pleasing and acceptable to God," but by omission denies the Catholic doctrine that the justified by good works merits increase of grace, eternal life, and its attainment.

XIII. The thirteenth, "Of works before justification," teaches that such works do not "make men meet to receive grace, or (as the school authors say) deserve grace of congruity . . . . we doubt not but they have the nature of sin (*peccati rationem*)." Luther said plainly that these works were sins. The Article is

aimed at the scholastic exposition of congruous merit; possibly it regards the works of a Socrates or Trajan as "splendid vices."

XIV. The fourteenth, "Of works of supererogation," denies as arrogant and impious the doctrine that the Church has a treasury from which Indulgences are drawn, the mass of the satisfactions of infinite value of Christ, and the abundant satisfactions of the saints, especially of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It denies that the saints did many good works, and endured many sufferings of whose satisfactory virtue they did not stand in need. It denies the distinction between precepts and counsels of perfection, or rather denies that counsels of perfection exist.

XV. The fifteenth, "Of Christ alone without sin," is probably not aimed at belief in the Immaculate Conception of our Lady. The Franciscan Sancta Clara, who anticipated Cardinal Newman in minimizing the Articles as long ago as in 1633, pointed out that the Article says that "we the rest (although baptized and born again in Christ) yet offend in many things. . . ." This does, however, apply to the Anabaptists, who taught that the justified could attain perfection, and fall no more into sin, whilst alleging that Christ was peccable, or peccant.

XVI. The sixteenth, "Of sin after baptism," seems to be founded on the Augsburg Confession, which condemns those "Anabaptists who deny that the justified can lose the Holy Ghost," and "Novatians who will not pardon the lapsed." The Anabaptists or sectarians, who swarmed in Essex and Kent in 1549, taught that all hope of pardon is taken away from those who have received the Holy Ghost and sinned, though some held that the justified is "without sin, and free from all stain of concupiscence, and cannot sin." This is, in various forms, still a tenet of some sectarians, and many Anglicans who fraternize with them. The Article uses these words:—"They are to be condemned

which say they can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny the place of forgiveness to such as truly repent."

XVII. The seventeenth, "Of predestination and election," the longest of the Articles, is written in a wordy style. The sources lie in Luther's letters and his preface to the Epistle to the Romans; the last paragraph, "we must receive God's promises in such wise as they are generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture," is traceable to Melanchthon. Calvin was the champion of arbitrary "predestination to life" (and of reprobation), of redemption only for the elect, of total ruin of man, of irresistible grace, and of final perseverance for the elect. These are his "five points." But not all Protestants were willing to go to such lengths. "Violent disputes on the subject of predestination took place between the Protestant prisoners," Foxe tells us, "particularly those in the King's Bench, during the persecution of Mary." In 1595 Archbishop Whitgift desired to impose nine "Lambeth Articles," embodying the "points," on the Church of England, but Queen Elizabeth would not permit this. They were not deemed inconsistent with the Article, have been held by numbers, and claimed by some of the clergy as their glory. In 1604 Archbishop Bancroft complained to the King "how many in these days, neglecting holiness of life, presumed too much of persisting of grace, laying all their religion upon predestination, if I shall be saved, I shall be saved . . . . I shall not be damned." At the least the Article lacks the luminous statement of Trent, "that none ought to determine for certain he is in the number assuredly of the predestinated." *Cf.* L. xviii. 27 n. 1; xx. 22, 25, etc.

XVIII. The eighteenth, "Of obtaining eternal salvation only by the name of Christ," seems not to be concerned with heathen. "Those who presume to say that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth," "are to be had accursed, *anathematizandi*."

Indifference, undenominationalism, "is the one spiritual sin which the Church of England anathematizes, because it finds its logical basis in the abnegation of all religious truth whatsoever," to quote Bishop Forbes. One of the many schools of Anabaptists—one of the English sects—was teaching that religion was a matter of indifference, and that even the rejection of the Saviour would not be attended with loss. It must be admitted that the current teaching of Reformation Anglicans was opposed to undenominationalism, Hooker endeavouring to show that it might charitably be supposed that their Popish forefathers were possibly saved, owing to their ignorance.

XIX. The nineteenth, "Of the Church," ushers in a group more distinctly and obviously anti-Catholic in meaning. "The visible Church of Christ," it says, "is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly administered." The Augsburg Confession stated that the "Church is a congregation of saints, in which the gospel is rightly taught, and the sacraments rightly administered." Cranmer's *Reformatio Legum* puts it thus:—"Their madness must be restrained by the bonds of laws who think the Church of Rome founded on a rock of such a kind that she has not erred, and cannot err . . . . their error is intolerable who would have the Universal Church of the world contained in the principate of the Roman bishop alone. For we define the visible church as being a *coetus* of all the faithful, in which Holy Scripture is sincerely taught, and the sacraments administered according to Christ's command. . . ." The Catechism of 1553, and Nowell's of 1570, both make the chief note of the Church "sincere preaching of the Gospel."

The visible church, then, may be conterminous with the Church of England; but, in view of the relations of the Reformers at home to those else-

where, it includes the "churches" of Scotland, France, Germany, and Switzerland, but does not consist of Rome, Greece, and England, according to modern high church teaching. Further, "the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred," but in what heresies, ceremonies, and conduct is not stated. "So also the Church of Rome hath erred . . . . in their living . . . . and ceremonies . . . . in matters of faith." The four chief and ancient sees, representatives of Christendom, have erred in life, ceremony, faith. Christendom is apostate. The visible church of Christ, started on its career by Cranmer (who desired to unite all the Reformed bodies) with pure preaching and two sacraments, compacted of various bodies that have not erred in living, ceremony, or faith, is now definitely ascertainable. Bishop Hooper, however, could not even agree to the new visible church: "I do not believe that to be the church, because that church is seen of the eye. The one Catholic Church is invisible."

XX. The twentieth, "Of the authority of the Church," begins with a statement inserted by Queen Elizabeth herself, taken from the Würtemberg Confession: "The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith." The Church, as in Article XXXIV., means the "particular or national" Church of England. A national church, without any reference to the rest of Christendom, or to antiquity, may abolish ceremonies, or decree what is new: a prayer-book in 1552 may abolish vestments and wafer bread: Queen Elizabeth can command the Church to use wafer and cope. A national church, as the Church of England, has authority to pronounce Transubstantiation untrue, or Purgatory, though taught by the great Council of Florence. A mere national church is "a witness and keeper of Holy Writ," and can decide its meaning. A church by law established, whose prayer-book is a schedule of an Act

of Parliament, has only such power as Parliament allows.

XXI. The twenty-first, "Of the authority of General Councils," affirms that "they may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes . . . . they may err, and sometimes have erred . . . . things ordained by them have neither strength nor authority . . . . unless taken out of Holy Scripture." Catholic teaching is that the Pope holds the right of convoking an œcumenical council, and this is consonant with history. Obviously a council is only general when it represents the Church; clearly it needs the confirmation of the Pontiff, and then it is infallible in its definitions of doctrine on faith or morals. The doctrines of the first four general councils are true, because the Reformers believed them to be in accordance with Scripture. As the creeds are to be tested by (Article VIII.) the Reformers' view of Scripture, so also councils. Pope, Councils, Creeds, are all liable to correction, and a national church (Article XX.) may subvert doctrines and ceremonies.

XXII. The twenty-second, "Of Purgatory," condemns "the Romish doctrine (*doctrina Romanensium*, or in 1553 the scholastic doctrine) of purgatory, pardons, worshipping and adoration as well of images as of relics, and also invocation of saints."

Those who consider the Articles to be "forty stripes save one" laid on the back of the Anglican clergy, maintain that the *doctrina scholasticorum* on purgatory, etc., was condemned in 1553, but is now allowed. The *Romanenses* (a word which Luther made use of as well as *Romanistæ* in 1520) were the extreme mediæval party; their doctrine is condemned, but not all doctrine, not primitive or scholastic doctrine, on the points in the Article. But the literature of the period shows that Romanist, Romish, and *Romanensis* mean the same thing: they are equivalent to the

milder term of the time of James I., Roman Catholic. The Tridentine doctrine is condemned, which was set forth some years before the authorised English version of the Articles.

Cranmer taught that after death there was no other place than heaven or hell. Machyn tells how he heard a Reformer preach a sermon "in which he said plainly there was no purgatory." Hence public prayers for the dead, as Andrewes showed, are not allowed in the Church of England, where the universal popular belief is still that souls depart to heaven or hell, and need no prayers.

The doctrine of purgatory is held by Latins and Greeks. Prayers for the departed are in every ancient liturgy. Indulgences disappeared with the obligation of Penance; the decrees of the second Council of Nicæa, accepted by the Greeks, as to "honourable adoration" of images, were set at nought — the Council erred — and the universal practice of asking the prayers of the saints cast to the winds; all such teaching was a futile thing, vainly invented.

A serious attempt is now made to introduce invocation of saints into the Established Church. The Edwardian bishops Ferrar and Hooper, with nine other prisoners, and Coverdale, in 1554, wrote, "We disallow invocation or prayers to saints." Indeed, by Act of Parliament, 3 and 4 Ed. VI., it was enacted that "invocation or prayer to saints be blotted out" of the primers. Bishop Gardiner, in 1555, imposed for signature by those taking a degree at Cambridge, the Article, "We . . . ought to venerate the saints . . . . and to invoke them. . . ." Fifty-one persons signed, one hundred and twenty refused, many of whom were doubtless friends of Parker's. Clearly the Article means that the Catholic doctrine is "repugnant," on all the points in it, "to the word of God," as it is phrased.

The Reformers abolished purgatory, and left only heaven and hell. Now the Protestant tendency goes towards abolishing hell and reinstating purgatory. Some of the best spirits amongst Anglicans admit that purgatory is not "repugnant to the word of God"; witness the late Dr Hort:—"The idea of purgation, of cleansing as by fire, seems to me inseparable from what the Bible teaches us of the divine chastisements."

XXIII. The twenty-third is, "Of ministering in the congregation." It is founded on the fourteenth of the Augsburg Confession: "No one ought to preach or administer the Sacraments unless rightly called." An article of 1538, agreed on by a committee of Lutheran and Anglican divines, uses the same words. The Lutherans lacked episcopal government, hence those who called a man to be a minister need not be bishops. This Twenty-third Article states that "it is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the Sacraments . . . . before he be called . . . ." And who are the callers and senders? Bishops? Not at all. "Men who have public authority given unto them . . . . to call and send. . . ." The Article does not uphold Apostolic succession, but simply opposes the theory of those sectarians (Anabaptists) who held that anyone could claim to be "doctor, pastor, and minister . . . . and distribute the Sacraments," without public vocation. Lutheran and Calvinistic ministers "we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority. . . ." What is to hinder "Home Reunion" between the Anglican and the Free Churches?

XXIV. The twenty-fourth, "Of speaking in the congregation in such a tongue as the people understandeth," calls for little comment. It is scarcely true, however, to say that "it is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God . . . . to have public prayer . . . .

in a tongue not understanded of the people," for only one passage bears on the subject, and there St. Paul is speaking of the gift of tongues (1 Cor. xiv.).

XXV. The twenty-fifth is, "Of the Sacraments." The opening statement is from the Augsburg Confession, directed against Zwinglian theory: "Sacraments .... be not only badges or tokens .... but witnesses and effectual signs of grace. . . ." The Würtemberg Confession suggested two passages that follow:—(1) "There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, ... Baptism and the Supper of the Lord." Trent teaches that seven are instituted by Christ. (2) "Those five, commonly called Sacraments," are (*a*) a corrupt imitation of the Apostles, probably Penance, which was henceforth only to be used after some grave sin, if the sinner was disquieted, or at death, and Extreme Unction, which was abolished in 1552: (*b*) states of life, probably Confirmation, Matrimony, and Orders. "They have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God." This, again, is contrary to Trent. "The Sacraments were not ordained to be gazed upon or to be carried about," condemns attendance at the Lord's Supper except for communicating—to hear Mass is useless—and processions of the Host. Ridley, by a curtain, prevented "non-communicants" from being present in St. Paul's at the latter half of Lord's Supper; the prayer-book of 1552 says, "If ye stand by as gazers and lookers on them that do communicate .... this be .... contempt and unkindness. . . ." The practice soon died out, and the custom continues for non-communicants to depart soon after the sermon.

XXVI. The twenty-sixth, "Of the unworthiness of the ministers, which hinder not the effect of the Sacraments," though coming from the Augsburg Confession through the Articles of 1538, according to Sancta Clara (1633), is "the very doctrine of the Church and of all the Fathers." Anabaptists,

Puritans, and Brownists—all, by the way, conforming members of the Church of England—held opposite doctrine.

XXVII. The twenty-seventh, "Of Baptism," needs no comment. "The baptism of young children . . . . is to be retained."

XXVIII. The twenty-eighth is, "Of the Lord's Supper." Ridley in 1545 read and embraced the view of Ratram of Corbie (840). By him Cranmer was led to abandon Transubstantiation. After considerable wavering, by December 27, 1549, he had taken up the Zwinglian theory. Hooper writes that the Archbishop's views "are religious, and similar to yours in Switzerland." The prayer-book of 1552 declared "no adoration ought to be done . . . . to any real or essential Presence." The Article of 1553 stood thus:—"A faithful man ought not to believe . . . . the real Presence." So the *Reformatio Legum* denies the real Presence. The present Article declares "Transubstantiation . . . . cannot be proved . . . . is repugnant to . . . . Scripture," and, except for a unique attempt made in a book called *Kiss of Peace* to show that this meant Transaccidentation, no one has supposed that the Church of England allows the doctrine. The Article then says:—"The body of Christ is given, taken and eaten . . . . only after an heavenly and spiritual manner." Parker desired that the Article should still condemn any Presence, but Bishop Guest procured the insertion of these words. Even so, Cheney of Gloucester, the friend of Blessed Campion, scrupling at the word "only," refused to sign, was excommunicated, and repented. Guest said: "The article is of mine own penning . . . . it doth not exclude the presence of Christ's Body . . . . but only the grossness and sensibleness in the receiving thereof." Guest, Cheney, and another bishop preached a Presence whilst the rest preached Zwinglianism; one of whom remarked, "An ass in a rochet preached the Presence before the Queen." But the

Convocation did not allow this interpretation, and eventually Article XXIX. was inserted, to exclude any notion of a real Presence. Elizabeth, Andrewes, and Laud (who quotes Ridley), believed in a Presence; nevertheless Hooker defines it, "the real presence of Christ's most blessed Body and Blood is not to be sought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament." Indeed, when a Catholic pointed out that the remains of the Sacrament "were used to spread children's butter on," the reply was, "It was no more the Sacrament."

Finally, the Article states that the "Sacrament was . . . . not by Christ's ordinance reserved" (reservation is expressly excluded by the rubrics), "carried about," "lifted up" (elevation was abolished in 1549), "or worshipped"; all acts of adoration are abolished. Reservation, some elevation, and adoration date from immemorial antiquity. On these points, the appeal to the first six centuries after Christ obtains a verdict against Anglican practice.

XXIX. The twenty-ninth, "Of the wicked which do not eat the Body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper," was said by Guest himself to be "contrary to Scripture and the Fathers"; "the evil men of the Church do receive Christ's Body." Comment needless.

XXX. The thirtieth, "Of both kinds," states that "The cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the lay people."

XXXI. The thirty-first, "Of the one oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross," claims that "the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said that the priests did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." Trent says: "If any say the sacrifice of the Mass be not propitiatory . . . . nor should be offered for quick and dead, for sins, pains, satisfactions, and other necessities, let him be anathema." High churchmen allege that popular abuses were aimed at by the Article.

They assert that the Article does not condemn the sacrifice of the mass, but "the sacrifices of masses in which it was commonly said," that the sacrifice of the cross was offered for original, the sacrifice of the mass for actual sin. Possibly the phrase is founded upon a statement of this character in the Confession of Augsburg. But in view of the whole tenor of the Reformers' opinion, "The priests' sacrifice neither propitiatory nor available," and of such a phrase as that found in the Council of Trent (sess. 22), "If any one shall say that to celebrate masses in honour of saints, etc., is an imposture" (put forth before the last edition of the Articles), historical probability is that the Article condemns all "sacrifices of masses" as "blasphemous figments and pernicious impostures."

At least it seems to contradict Trent; Hooker could say that sacrifice was abolished, and minister was a more suitable term than priest. The latter term has died out of popular use.

XXXII. The thirty-second, "Of the marriage of priests," allows the marriage of bishops, priests, and deacons. The attack of Hippolytus on Pope St. Callistus (220) for not suspending clergy who should marry, shows the antiquity of celibacy of clergy in Rome. No bishops—except Anglican—can marry.

XXXIII. The thirty-third, "Of excommunicate persons, how they are to be avoided," calls for no exposition.

XXXIV. The thirty-fourth, "Of the traditions of the Church," states that "It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one . . . . whosoever by his own private judgement doth . . . . break the traditions and ceremonies . . . . ought to be rebuked. . . ." So far true. However, in the Church of England private judgement has ever had sway. Ridley pulled down altars on his own authority; in 1566, "some say prayers with a surplice, some without. The table standeth in the body of the church . . . . in the chancel

. . . . altar like . . . . is joined . . . . is upon trestles . . . . hath a carpet . . . . none. Communion with surplice and cope . . . . surplice . . . . none," etc. etc. The Article claims that "every particular or national church hath authority to . . . . change ceremonies." Here indeed is chaos; reservation, extreme unction, altars, disappear if the national church wills, with less important ceremonies, though verbally retained.

XXXV. The thirty-fifth, "Of the homilies," gives a list of twenty-one of these, containing "a godly and wholesome"—but very Protestant—doctrine.

XXXVI. The thirty-sixth, "Of consecration of bishops and ministers," declares that the Ordinal of 1550 (still in use, with unimportant alterations) is sufficient, so that all consecrated or ordered according to it are "rightly, orderly, and lawfully" so made. That question is closed for Catholics. The Article says (against the Puritans) that Episcopacy is not in itself "superstitious or ungodly." It is an allowable form of church government. The Articles give no guidance on the question whether Episcopacy is necessary. For a strong party objected to Episcopacy. It is defended as allowable.

There were five deprived bishops among the exiles at Frankfort during Mary's reign, but, notwithstanding the preface to the Ordinal, there is no trace of the office being regarded as a separate order by divine right. The exiled bishops did not use the title, and neither confirmed nor ordained in right of their office. At different times three of them were members of Knox's congregation at Geneva, and Bishop Coverdale, who afterwards took part in the consecration of Parker, habited in a black gown, was a member of his session. All sat at the feet of Calvin, "incomparably the greatest man," to quote Hooker, "that ever the French churches did enjoy."

Till 1661 the Church of England admitted men in Presbyterian "orders," Scotch, French, and Dutch, to

benefices; and until 1820 Frenchmen in Presbyterian orders held livings in the Channel Islands. In 1586 "many Scots divines" were beneficed in England. Archbishop Grindal admitted to a benefice, one ordained according to "the laudable custom of the Church of Scotland." Morton, Cosin, and the Presbyterian divines at the Savoy give similar testimony. It can hardly be contended that the Ordinal, Articles, etc., exhibit clear notions of the Sacerdotium.

XXXVII. The thirty-seventh, "Of the civil magistrates," affirms that "the chief government of all estates . . . . ecclesiastical or civil" appertains to the "Queen's Majesty." Convocation can only meet by consent of civil authority; it can pass no Acts; the prayer-book is a schedule of an Act of Parliament; the Church is bound hand and foot.

"The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England." There is no Catholic Church, only separated bodies.

XXXVIII. The thirty-eighth, "Of Christian men's goods which are not common," is directed against Anabaptists, or at any rate those who desired even a community of wives.

XXXIX. The thirty-ninth, "Of a Christian man's oath," is directed against those Anabaptists who, like the Quakers of later days, objected to take an oath in a court of justice.

Wyclif's teaching fell on fruitful soil. A crop of Lollards sprang up, and his doctrines passed over to Bohemia. Lollardy was kept in check till Luther's revolt in Germany, but after the separation from Rome here in 1534, the Lollard heresies appeared again with the new heretical teaching. At once, from end to end of England, men claimed to deny every Catholic doctrine, and to hold any extravagant ideas. The general name of Anabaptist was given to them, and they claimed to be members of the established

national church. Many of the Articles, though themselves based mainly on Lutheran documents, allude to errors worse than their own, in vain. During the great rebellion the lowest churchmen got the upper hand, and sectarianism raged. Since the Restoration, the most heretical have continued as separate sects, but the establishment has nevertheless remained a house divided against itself.

The better churchmen define their position in two ways:—

(1) The Church of England possesses orders, and the Sacraments generally, and the ancient ceremonial. But of what value is a corporation that does little more than tolerate all these things? Orders, according to the Articles, are not superstitions; as to the liturgy, the exiles in Frankfort and the Elizabethan bishops allowed only monthly communion at most; and, in spite of rubric, no more even in cathedral churches. As to ritual, altars have disappeared, name and thing, with their ornaments (which are only tolerated as general church ornaments), the lights and cross. The celebrated ornaments' rubric possibly allows vestments, but under the conditions of the book of 1549—that is, chasuble or cope may be worn. The bishops have never tolerated the chasuble, and indeed in Cecil's Questions of 1559 it is put "whether to use the cope beside the surplice." No chasuble has been worn since June 24, 1559, till about 1840. Incense has gone, and many other points.

(2) So long as doctrine is believed, the ground matters not. But orthodox belief on the Sacraments, even if a colourable case can be made out for squaring it with the Articles, can only be a tolerated opinion. The English Church, if she speaks plainly, speaks with no Catholic accents.

When Cardinal Newman had attempted, like Father Davenport (Sancta Clara) the Franciscan two hundred years before, to read orthodoxy into the Articles, he

was fain to confess, "There is nothing in the Church of England but what we have put there."

Bernard Gilpin, the nephew of Tunstall, preached at the court of Edward VI., and continued to say Mass at Durham. Under Elizabeth, being told that the Real Presence was not to be again condemned, he again conformed, a type of thousands who, as the Puritans complained, enjoyed benefices. Late in life he said, "What trouble I had when the oath was ministered for the Articles of 1562 and 1571!" Modern Ritualists have not his excuse for conforming.

During the Middle Ages, and even during the twenty years previous to the breach with Rome, no dissatisfaction can be traced (Gairdner states) in England with Papal rule. Since Elizabeth's accession hostility to this rule has been the first note of the national religion. Till lately, the Pope was regarded as the man of sin, or as Antichrist, as the story of the convert Ambrose de Lisle praying for enlightenment on this point illustrates. Elizabeth refused to allow Parpaglia, the legate, to land, and claimed to be Supreme Governor of the Church (Article XXXVII.). Parliament and Privy Council allow or disallow legislation, and decide whether dogmas may be held or not. A separation was made from the Church of Rome, erroneous in ceremony, living, and faith (XIX.). Reservation of the host, processions, and elevation were abolished (XXVIII.), crosses (XXII.) except in the Queen's chapel. Cardinal Manning wondered how and when the host disappeared at Canterbury. About the beginning of June 1559 there was a procession there, 3000 of the gentry attending. After midsummer day was another, with a dog's excrement carried in the pyx. Altars, lights (never, said Grindal, to be again introduced by law), incense, mixed chalice, disappeared. Those who lived at the time were amazed to see the fabric of worship vanish like smoke

in one day (XXXIV.) A hierarchy was retained, not as of divine right (XXXVI.), none claiming this prior to Bancroft's sermon at Paul's Cross, 1589. Against the Queen's wish, marriage was permitted to it (XXXII.) It did not offer the sacrifices of masses (XXXI.), but celebrated the Supper, without gazers, if a convenient number of communicants, three out of a parish of twenty, were present. This was done once a month in Canterbury Cathedral, and thrice a year, till recently, throughout the country. Large quantities of wine were consumed from the chalice (XXX.), the good receiving the Body by the medium of faith, in a spiritual mode only (XXVIII.), the wicked not participating of Christ (XXIX.). Thus was the religion of the Articles exhibited in the concrete. This, in the main, commended itself to the nation, excepting the Laudian school, from 1559 down to 1833, since which date, the Articles are only tolerable.

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Wix, high church.
Cardinal Newman, Tract 90, an Anglican eirenicon.
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Bishop A. P. Forbes, ritualistic.
Bishop Gibson, high church.
Maclear and Williams, high church.
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These furnish a stream of comment from 1553 to 1908.

To be consulted for history of the Reformation illustrating points in the Articles :—

Zurich Letters, } Parker Society.
Original Letters, }

Machyn's Diary,
Greyfriars' Chronicle,
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Sprott's *Liturgy of Compromise*,
Lives of Parker, Bernard Gilpin, Dean Wotton, Bishop Cheney (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*), Campion (Simpson's).

Father Davenport (1598–1680) was a convert; he became a Franciscan under the name of Franciscus a Sancta Clara. He was made chaplain to Queen Henrietta Maria, and afterwards to Queen Catharine of Braganza. His attempt to show that the Articles were consonant with Catholic doctrine excited the displeasure of Laud at home, and of many Catholics abroad. It was written in the hope, to some extent realized, of gaining converts. It anticipated by just two hundred years the endeavour of Newman, when vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford, to show that the Articles were so Catholic that the Anglican Church was a safe home. Both said, "The Articles are orthodox." Davenport asked, "Why not become a Catholic?" Newman, "Why become a Catholic?"

Cf. throughout Lectures xviii., xx., xxiii. (Trent), xxviii. (Lutheranism).

LUTHERANISM

From the French of
J. BOURG, S.J.

PART I. HISTORICAL SURVEY

I. THE ORIGINS.—1. *Remote Causes.—The Time and Circumstances.*—The Reformation is perhaps the most considerable of modern revolutions. Luther, no doubt, was its most important and definite expression, but the fires had been smouldering beneath the surface long before he appeared. The "innovators" asserted that they were "novel" in nothing. Schooled by the Renaissance, itself the daughter of pagan antiquity, they studied Early Christianity: they were for retracing religion to its source, for harking back to the true dogma of the Gospel, the simplicity of the primitive Church. Had the Church then degenerated? The great schism, the collapse of Pragmatic Sanctions, the preaching of Wycliffe and Huss suggested that it had. "For centuries," says Bossuet, "men had longed to see ecclesiastical discipline reformed." Futile efforts in this direction had been made at the Councils of Pisa (1409), of Constance (1414–1418), of Bâle (1431–1449). Clerical disorder was indisputable. Bishops and abbots, now become powerful feudal lords, gave their temporal interests precedence before their ecclesiastical duties. The Church had gradually become secularized, the Fisc had assumed unwarrantable proportions. Popes lived as great lords, as artists, as semi-pagan dilettantes: Alexander VI., Julius II., even Leo X., are open to just blame. Prelates, priests, and monks imitated their example. Such was the

situation that Cardinal Julian Cesarini could predict to Eugenius IV. all that actually took place. For lack of the necessary Reformation there came about the inevitable Revolution.

All in Germany favoured this. Profound discontent had been occasioned by the introduction, in the second half of the fifteenth century, of Roman law in place of the old Germanic system, and royal Absolutism pressed heavier and heavier on the masses. One of the causes of the success of Lutheranism was its *national* character. The feeling was, Germany must shake off the Roman yoke: the Holy Empire is Roman before being Germanic: it is Pope who crowns Emperor. Lutheran Germany shall be self-contained and self-sufficient.[1]

At the same time, intellectual life had developed very highly. It was the golden age of the Renaissance and Humanism in Germany. Facilitated by the invention of the printing-press, the spread of instruction was swift and wide: popular schoolmasters were respected and influential; in intermediate education Rudolf Agricola and Jacobus Wimpheling, "institutor Germaniæ," mark an epoch; the universities were prosperous. Among the representatives of knowledge were to be found, at Cologne, Bartholomew of Cologne and Ortwin Gratius; at Heidelberg, John von Dalberg, John Reuchlin and John Trithemus, "the greatest historian of his century"; at Freiburg, Ulrich Zasius; at Basel, Heynlin von Stein and Sebastian Brandt; at Ingolstadt, Jacobus Locher and John Eck; at Nuremberg, John Müller, reformer of astronomy and mathematics, and the humanist Willibald Pirkheimer; at Augsburg, a friend of Pirkheimer, the archæologist Conrad Peutinger; at Strasburg, Geiler of Kaisersberg and Wimpheling.

But all these names are eclipsed by one other, Erasmus of Rotterdam. Erasmus, that brilliant

[1] With all this, compare Lecture xxi., *Gregory VII.*, by Dr. A. Fortescue.

humanist and representative of the new tendencies, must be considered a precursor of the Reformation.[1]

He strove to apply Humanism to Theology, paraded much contempt for Scholasticism and Churchdom; and was not guiltless of rationalist tendencies in his interpretation of Scripture. His influence was colossal. "In Erasmus, the habitual measure of human gifts is outpassed. He is a divine being, and as such must be venerated with religious piety." So wrote Conrad Mutian, one of the chiefs of the new humanism.[2]

At this epoch John Reuchlin, with the best of intentions, published two curious works, *De verbo mirifico*, and *De arte cabbalistica*. Violent controversies between the Humanists and the Scholastics were their direct result. Ideas of independence were expressed with ever increasing energy: the schism was in full preparation: Luther was to consummate it.

2. *Martin Luther*, 1483–1546. — Martin Luther, born at Eisleben in 1483, was the son of a poor miner of the Hartz Mountains. His temperament was violent and stormy; a repressive education was adopted in hopes of quelling it. So poor was he as often to suffer from hunger when at school at Eisenach. This education and these privations accounted no doubt in part for his moody and sombre disposition. In 1500 he studied, not without success, at the University of Erfürth. In 1505 two accidents

[1] The Nuntio Jerome Aleander actually asserted that all the heresies of Luther were to be found in germ in Erasmus. But a wiser verdict goes far to absolve Erasmus save of pardonable shortsightedness. Horrified at the excesses of men whose tendencies he at first applauded, he wrote and spoke with indignation against them; and was in his turn virulently attacked by them. "Can it be only by chance," he came to write, "that I have not met a single one of these new evangelicals who does not seem worse than before he joined this new sect?" And of him Luther's disciple Alber cried, "The one who showed most zeal in serving the devil's cause was Erasmus of Rotterdam."

[2] Mutian, a canon of Gotha, had a profound contempt for the Church. He conceived Christianity as the doctrine of pure Humanity, directly opposed to Mosaism, and fundamentally and absolutely independent of the facts of Revelation.

gave him a profound mental shock—the death of one of his friends in a duel, and a hairbreadth escape from being struck by lightning. The terrors of the Last Judgement and his own unpreparedness laid hold of him: he made a vow to enter religion, and offered himself to the Augustinians of Erfürth. In the monastery he could not keep his rule nor observe obedience. He was obstinate, impulsive, scrupulous, passionate, independent, and in all things exaggerated. He performed the most appalling mortifications. He very nearly went mad through depriving himself of sleep for five weeks. "I imposed on myself," he writes, "peculiar obligations: I was determined to follow a path of my own. My superiors constantly resisted my singularities, and in this they did well." Full of scruples, he could see in himself only sin; his relations with God were founded upon panic. Yet, "I was then the most presumptuous of the righteous, the most rash among the saints: resting upon my works, I trusted not in God, but in my own righteousness." This was pride: and his very repentance lacked humble love and filial hope. He would fall into black despondencies, "a continual doubt, despair, fright, hatred, and blasphemy." Over and over again he renewed his general confession, but without obtaining relief. From one extreme he will rush to the other: he will deny that works help in any way to salvation; and persuade himself that man, through original sin, is utter corruption; free-will is his no longer; that every action of man, as the fruit of his depraved will, cannot but be mortal sin. Man must be saved only by faith. "Sin sturdily, but believe more sturdily still."[1]

In 1508 Luther is Professor of Philosophy at Wittenberg. In 1512 he was received as Doctor of Theology, and gave brilliant lectures on St. Paul, the Psalms, and St. Augustine. Eagerness in study, profound learning, headlong and stirring eloquence

[1] Letter to Melanchthon, August 1, 1521.

were then his qualities; but already he had heterodox opinions on justification by faith alone, though it was the question of Indulgences that gave him the occasion of making an open breach with Rome.

3. *The Quarrel about Indulgences.*—Pope Julius II. had published an "Indulgence" for the construction of St. Peter's at Rome, and Leo X. renewed it. The Dominicans, who were charged with its proclamation, appointed one of their body, John Tetzel, who acquitted himself of his task with great éclat. Disastrously enough, his own doctrine seems to have been at times scarcely accurate, and certainly his regulations were not always observed. Grave scandals, mostly financial, were not long in declaring themselves. Jerome Emser protests against these "rapacious commissaries, monks, and priests, who preach the Indulgence in so scandalous a fashion . . . insisting much more on the payment of money than on the necessity of confession, contrition, and penance."[1]

Luther protested, less against these undoubted abuses than against the essential dogma of Indulgences and the Church's doctrine upon the efficaciousness of good works, which indeed ran counter to his personal opinions on justification, and his belief that the will was not free. On 31st October 1517, he nailed to the door of the chapel of Wittenberg Castle 95 propositions on, or rather against, Indulgences. Tetzel answered by 110 "antitheses." Luther retaliated with a *Treatise on Indulgences and Grace,* in which he ridiculed Pope and Church. He regards his cause as that of God. "I will not admit that my doctrine may be judged by anyone, even the angels."[2]

4. *The Consummation of the Schism.*—Besides Tetzel, two Dominicans, Silvester Prierias and Hoch-

[1] Jerome Emser took sides against Luther after the conference at Leipzig in 1519.

[2] What are we to think of Luther's good faith? His contradictory statements make the solution of the problem very difficult. Fr. Grisar S.J., is less definite in his conclusions than is Fr. Denifle, O.P.

straten, and John Eck, the Ingolstadt professor, combated the doctrines of Luther. Leo X. began by displaying an extreme leniency. "Brother Martin Luther," said he, "is a fine genius, and all that is said against him is mere monkish jealousy." Seeing that matters were getting worse, he summoned Luther to him at Rome. Luther obtained leave not to go to Rome, and simply presented himself before the papal legate, Cardinal Cajetan, at Augsburg (1518). He refused to retract anything. He appealed from "the Pope misinformed to the Pope better informed." A week later, he appealed from the Pope to a General Council. Leo X., still very indulgent, contented himself with the publication of a Bull in which he exposed the Catholic doctrine of Indulgences (9th November 1518). Luther still refused all retractation. In 1519, a great oratorical joust took place at Leipzig: Carlstadt, a disciple of Luther, combated the doctrine of Free Will: Luther rejected the authority of General Council no less than of Pope, and declared that alone the Scriptures were authoritative on matters of faith. This was the last step. Luther found his writings censured by the Universities of Cologne and Louvain.[1] He then wrote an insolent letter to his "dear Leo," the Pope. His audacity kept pace with his success; Frederick of Saxony, his king, protected him; Carlstadt, Melanchthon, all the students of the University of Wittenberg, were on his side: Erasmus, Ulrich von Hutten, Mutian, and the Humanists gave him their approval. Leo X. could not but condemn him (15th June 1520); and the Bull *Exurge Domine* anathematized forty-one of his

[1] That of Paris followed their example only in 1521. Luther called the Louvain theologians "boorish asses, cursed sows, wretched swindlers, bellies of blasphemies, dry-blooded incendiaries, fratricides, coarse swine, dainty pigs, heretics and idolators, conceited strutters, damned pagans, stagnant pools," etc., and said that the Faculty of Theology at Paris was "the most abominable intellectual street-walker that has ever appeared under the sun." *Cf.* Janssen, vol. ii., p. 204, n. 2 (French tr.).

propositions, allowing him sixty days in which to submit, under pain of excommunication.

It was too late. The Bull, brought to Germany by John Eck, was torn to pieces at Leipzig, drowned at Erfürth, burnt at Wittenberg.

5. *Progress of Lutheranism.—Social and Political Disturbances.*—The tree bore its fruits: the students, the middle class, the lower and the higher nobility, began to accept the new doctrines. In proportion as the spirit of independence spread and grew strong, the doctrine completed itself. In 1520 appeared the Manifesto—*To the Christian Nobility of Germany on the Regeneration of the Christian State*: then came the *Babylonish Captivity*, and *On Christian Liberty*. In 1521, Melanchthon[1] published his *Loci Communes seu Hypotyposes Theologicæ*, which is the first dogmatic schedule of the Reformation. Erasmus, at length alarmed by the new movement, attacked Luther in his *On the Freedom of the Will* (1524): Luther's answer was, *On the Slavery of the Will* (1525) (*de servo arbitrio*).

The new Emperor, however, Charles V., anxious for peace and order, convoked at Worms (1521) a Diet which should, among other things, execute the pontifical sentence against Luther. Luther set out with an imperial safe-conduct. His journey was a triumphal march: Erfürth, Gotha, Eisenach received him in state. Luther, determined to fight to the end for what he believed to be the truth, still refused to retract. The assembly declared that he must be delivered to the secular arm. Frederick of Saxony obtained a remand for his protégé, and had him removed, and took him to the Castle of Wartburg, near Eisenach. There Luther, under an assumed name, continued to live in silent and studious retirement, occupied with his *magnum opus*,

[1] Philip Melanchthon, the most important figure in the Lutheran reform, after Luther himself, was born in 1497, and was professor at Wittenberg from 1528.

the German translation of the Bible, which was undoubtedly a great work and one of high literary merit.[1] Disturbances continued. To the revolt of the knights with Franz of Sickingen and Sylvester of Schaumburg succeeded the excesses of the Anabaptists and Sacramentarians, who outstripped Luther in their violences. The names of these two sects indicate the main points round which their erroneous doctrines moved. Captained by Carlstadt, they made themselves masters of Wittenberg. Melanchthon had no strength for a fight; but Luther came back unexpectedly: in a single week he had rid Saxony of the fanatics. But the peasants were the next to revolt (1525) in Suabia under Götz von Berlichingen, in Thuringia under Thomas Münzer, and in Franconia, etc. They demanded liberties which are reasonable enough in themselves, but which then appeared intolerable. In their fury they set about sacking castles and monasteries. Luther hesitated at first, but soon condemned them and preached the war against them. This socialist revolt, originated in the name of religion against the feudal lords, was drowned in the streams of blood shed in the massacre of Frankenhausen.

The aristocracy, too, sought to profit by the Reformation: Albert of Brandenburg, the Grand-Master of the Teutonic order, declared himself hereditary Duke of Prussia under the suzerainty of Poland (1525). Many lords appropriated the goods of the Church which lay within their estates. Some free towns also adopted Lutheranism. Monks and nuns began to marry. Luther, who at first had shown disgust at this, himself took for partner a Cistercian nun, Catherine von Bora (1525).

6. *Futile Attempts at Union.—Diets, Colloquies, and Leagues.*—In self-defence, the Catholics formed a

[1] This does not exclude a great number of mistranslations. See E. Roderich, *Gottes Wort und die Lutherische Bibelübersetzung, zwei grundverschiedene Dinge*, Berlin, 1895.

league at Dessau (1525); the Lutherans opposed to it that of Torgau in 1526.

At the Diet of Spires (1526) Charles V., occupied with the war against the Turks, granted to the Reformed free exercise of worship till the next general congregation. But a new Diet of Spires (1529) forbade to them all religious innovations. Princes and delegates protested against this measure; hence the name *Protestants* given to Lutherans, and soon extended to all the other sects. *Cf.* p. 12, n. 3.

An attempt at uniting the various Protestant communions took place at the Colloquy of Marburg in 1529. Luther and Melanchthon represented Saxony, Zwingli and Oecolampadius the Church of Switzerland, Martin Bucer that of Strasburg. The agreement was complete except about the Real Presence in the Supper.[1] All showed a great desire to come to an agreement, except Luther, who stubbornly refused. The only result of the Colloquy was that the heads of sects promised to refrain from further reciprocal attacks.

If agreement between the reformed sects was impossible, still more impossible was it between Reformed and Catholics. Yet an attempt took place at Augsburg (1530). Luther held back, but Melanchthon took part in it. He drew up, with marked moderation, the Confession of Augsburg. Charles V., who was just then leaning towards severity, had this declaration refuted by his theologians John Eck and Cochlæus. The Diet ordered the restitution of the goods taken from the Church. The Lutherans retired in disgust, adopting as the expression of their doctrine the *Confession of Augsburg*.[2]

[1] The Zwinglians asserted that the bread and wine, after the consecration, remained the bare species. Luther maintained that though they remained the species, the Body and Blood of Our Lord communicated themselves to them, "as fire communicates itself to iron in a red-hot bar." He called this interpenetration of two real substances "impanation" and "invination."

[2] Everywhere alike these attempts at reunion or conversion proved futile. In France the Colloquy of Poissy was, in 1561, to have a like result.

War seemed imminent: the Catholic princes formed the League of Ratisbon, the Protestant, that of Smalkalde (31st Dec. 1530); but the Turks were menacing Europe, and Charles V. granted to the Lutherans the *Interim* of Nuremberg (1532), which restored the *status quo*. The political war was thus avoided, but the social war broke out afresh. The Anabaptists, driven out of Thuringia, took refuge in Holland, seized Münster, and established in it a sort of communism. Their supremacy was short-lived.

In 1525 Luther had already said: "There are as many Sects and Credos as there are heads." During his last years he experienced a profound discouragement at the sight of all the divisions which the Reform aroused. Yet in 1546 he died, expressing his belief in his own work with his latest breath, after crises of black remorse and interior misery.[1]

The Council of Trent had opened at the close of the preceding year.

2. THE LUTHERAN CONQUEST.—1. *Early Successes.*—Luther had seen the progress of his work. Immediately after the Diet of Spires, 1526, Lutheran churches were being officially established. The Landgrave Philip of Hesse protected the new doctrines. In 1527 a new cult with a new ritual was adopted in Saxony. Lutheranism reached the duchies of Brunswick-Lüneburg, of Mecklenburg, the Margravate of Brandenburg-Kulmbach, etc. The second Diet of Spires (1529) had introduced toleration in practice. Würtemberg was torn from Catholicism by Duke Ulrich. The Reform spread likewise into Pomerania, Augsburg, Frankfort, Hamburg, etc. In 1539 Duke Henry of Saxony passed over to Protestantism; in 1540 Brandenburg adopted heresy.

[1] The last hours of Luther are still involved in mystery. Many recent authors are striving to elucidate this point. *Cf.* P. Bernard, *Luther intime*, in the Etudes, Nov. 1, 1908, and Fr. Weiss, O.P's. *Luther's Psychology the Key to the Luther-legend*, etc. (German).

Archbishops and bishops joined the heretics in great numbers, and the Protestants were already beginning to oppress the Catholics where they could.

After the Reformer's death the movement went on. The Emperor lost all hopes of an understanding and excluded from the Empire the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse (20th July 1546). These princes were ready enough to fight, but were beaten at Mühlberg in 1547. In spite of the *Interim* of Augsburg (1548), the Protestant prince Maurice of Saxony turned against Charles, who, bound by the Treaty of Passau, promised to convene a Diet where reconciliation should be aimed at. This was the Diet of Augsburg (1553), and the religious Peace of Augsburg was the result.

2. *The Religious Peace of Augsburg.*—It was agreed that:—

The Emperor, with the Catholic States and the Lutheran States, should respectively abstain from aggression. The ecclesiastical goods secularized at the time of the Treaty of Passau were abandoned to the Lutherans. The Church was to exercise no jurisdiction over the members of the Confession of Augsburg. Ecclesiastics who should henceforward abandon the old faith were to be deprived of office and revenues; this was the *ecclesiastical reserve* which, later on, became a source of new difficulties. No state should force any other state to embrace its own religion. Individuals might emigrate from a state intolerant of their creed to a tolerant. Those who were neither Catholics nor Lutherans[1] were excluded from the advantages of this treaty.[2]

This peace recognized to princes the "Right of Reform," and marked the triumph of the principle of *Territorialism*: the Sovereign chooses the religion which he imposes on his territory—*cuius regio, huius religio.* Thus the Protestant churches fell at once into the power of their princes, and the bishops had no jurisdiction. It was the theoretical recognition of

[1] Calvinists, for instance, and all who did not subscribe to the Confession of Augsburg.

[2] Hence the peace of Augsburg did not establish liberty of conscience in Germany.

the fact which, since the Reformation began, had dominated:

As is the Crown, so is the Creed.[1]

3. *From the Peace of Augsburg to the Peace of Westphalia.* — Fruitless efforts after reunion were again initiated by Ferdinand I. (1556–1564) and Maximilian II. (1564–1576). Protestantism was spreading in the Palatinate, the Margravate of Baden, in Brunswick, etc. Divided into numerous sub-sects, it permeated Germany and went beyond its borders, and actually gained Catholic territories, under Hapsburg dominion, and in Bohemia.

Elsewhere reaction was stimulated by the Council of Trent and the recently founded Society of Jesus. This is the Counter-Reformation.

Excesses of Protestant intolerance renewed hostility among the various confessions. This hostility was one cause of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), a genuinely religious as well as political war. Only the Treaties of Westphalia concluded it.

4. *The Treaties of Westphalia.* —The religious questions decided at Osnabrück are to be found in the *Instrumentum Pacis Osnabrugensis.*

i. The Peace of Augsburg is confirmed.

ii. The advantages offered by it to the Lutherans are extended to Zwinglians and Calvinists under the name of the "Reformed."[2] (This was a new step towards the practice of Toleration.)

iii. Ecclesiastical goods are assigned to Catholics or Protestants according to their distribution on Jan. 1, 1624 ("Decretory" or "Normal" year).[3]

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[1] In the seventeenth century the Protestant Jurieu said: "One of our principles is that theologians must be considered, in religious discussions, simply as pleaders who expose a case. . . . The true and only judges of faith, discipline, and worship are the Sovereigns." And in the nineteenth century, the Protestant E. Naville wrote: "It was the Governments which founded the Protestant churches."

[2] We have throughout used the names *Reformed* and *Protestant* in the wider sense applicable to all offshoots of Lutheranism, but (strictly) *not*, *e.g.*, to Anglicanism.

[3] For the Palatinate and its neighbouring states, Baden, and Würtemburg, the date was fixed to Jan. 1, 1619.

iv. The "Ecclesiastical Reserve" is maintained, but is extended to all benefices, Protestant and Catholic alike.

v. The "Right of Reform" belongs to all the states of the Empire, ecclesiastical or secular.[1]

vi. Where one religion is obviously predominant, members of the minority can practise their cult in private.

vii. Majorities shall no more decide vexed questions, but amicable conferences between Catholics and Protestants shall deal with all religious business. If this prove ineffective, things must be left *in statu quo*.

Other clauses complete what we have stated. In fine, every subject of the Empire can keep his religion: ideas of toleration are progressing; but the right of secularization without the consent of the legal owners is finding its way into European custom. Pope Innocent X. made a useless protest in his Bull, *Zelo Domus Tuæ*.

5. *Protestantism outside the Empire.*—We have seen that Albert of Brandenburg formed a Protestant Duchy of Prussia. In Livonia, Poland, Hungary, Transylvania, the new doctrines found foothold. In Denmark, Christian II. and his successor Frederick I. favoured them, while John Tausen, a disciple of Luther, preached them with success. Norway was then united with Denmark. In Sweden the brothers Olaf and Laurence Petri had been agitating since 1519 for the Reformation; Gustavus Vasa embraced Lutheranism and used it to break the power of the clergy. Lutheranism reached France;[2] Calvinism, born there, found its way to Scotland (Lecture xxx.). In England and

[1] The Right of Reform comprises: the recognition of the right of each sovereign, in virtue of his sovereignty, to grant to the adherents of either confession and sect, the free exercise of their worship, or to grant this only under restrictions, or not to grant it at all. They must guide themselves in this upon the circumstances as they were in the Normal Year, 1624 or 1619.

[2] No one is ignorant of the violence of the Wars of Religion. After these bloody struggles, the Protestants of France drew breath. In 1598 Henry IV., by the Edict of Nantes, accorded to them full liberty to practise their religion. Louis XIV. revoked it in 1685 and violently combated Protestantism. At present there are fewer than 600,000 Reformed and 100,000 Lutherans in France: the Reformed held in 1872 the general Synod at Lyons: this was the first since 1659.

Ireland a different path led to the same separation from the Roman Church. Into the Low Countries, too, the Reformation penetrated in the sixteenth century.

6. *Unity and Variety of Protestantism.*—From the very outset doctrinal quarrels abounded. They centred largely on the Eucharist,[2] and we find Crypto-calvinists, Antinomists, Adiaphorists, Osiandrists, and many others. So, too, the sects grew varied. We have already seen at work Anabaptists and Sacramentarians.

We may further quote the Mennonites,[3] a sort of moderate Anabaptists and the Schwenkfeldians.[4] In Holland the Arminians (Arminius was a preacher of Amsterdam) rejected the doctrine of Absolute Predestination. From Dutch Pietism, with Philip J. Spener, descend the Herrnhutes; with the Count of Zinzendorf they united with the Moravian Brethren. Emmanuel Swedenborg of Stockholm founded the sect called after him.

In spite of these divisions Luther is always regarded as institutor of these sects which appeal to him as Founder, though they claim indeed to have perfected his work.

7. *Protestantism in the Nineteenth Century and To-day.* — Doctrinal indifferentism and universal Liberalism soon began to gain ground. We cannot here insist on Voltaire's prime share in this movement. Protestantism suffered accordingly. Its principle of free dispute and private judgement was a necessary source of weakness and dissipation. To counteract this, Protestantism appealed to force: territorialism was to replace the older principle of cohesion.[5] The

[1] *Cf.* Lectures xxvii. and xxx. [2] *Cf. infra*, p. 22.

[3] Named after their founder, Menno Simonis.

[4] Gaspard of Schwenfeld had separated from his quondam master Luther.

[5] Notice, however, how far modern notions are modifying the old exclusiveness. Berlin, entirely Protestant a century ago, now contains over 150,000 Catholics. Munich, then exclusively Catholic, now has in it over 50,000 Protestants.

separation, accordingly, of Church and State, towards which we everywhere are inevitably tending, is likely to be fatal to it.[1]

Protestantism recognised the danger. Accordingly, new efforts towards reunion were made in Germany in the course of the nineteenth century: in 1817, *e.g.*, at the Synod of Nassau. But in 1841 new disputes broke out: the Old Lutherans formed a separate community. The General Synod of Berlin (1846) proved helpless. Doctrine tottered. Dogmatic speculation was more and more abandoned in favour of active life. Charity was now to be the uniting bond.

Numerous associations were formed: the Evangelical Union of the Churches (1848); the Protestant Association "to renew the Protestant Church by the spirit of Gospel liberty in a way which shall be in relation with the spirit of our time"; the Gustavus-Adolphus Union, which strives to "revive" Christianity. A special *Evangelical Alliance*, founded in 1881, exists to combat Catholicism. A committee of the Evangelical Churches of Germany constituted in 1903 is trying to reunite the various groups of German Protestantism.

Protestant missions are of recent date. A college of missions was, however, founded at Copenhagen by Frederick IV. of Denmark in 1714. The zeal of the Herrnhutes is well known. But this was slight. In the nineteenth century the Protestant missions developed amazingly. Great Britain and America are easily first in the race, but Lutheran countries are not slow to follow. Germany has some fourteen missionary societies existing to-day. France, Switzerland, Holland, Norway, and Sweden work, too, for the spread of Protestant doctrine. Home missions exist as well. Wichern founded for this purpose The House of Austerity (*Das rauhe Haus*) at Horn near Hamburg. Pastor Fliedner founded in 1836 an

[1] "Wherever liberty of conscience was not oppressed, Protestantism was quick to disappear," writes the Protestant Edgar Quinet.

Order of Deaconesses at Kaiserwerth to attend to the sick, and undertake various charitable enterprises.

Yet all this is recognized as unavailing in view of the increasing disruption of doctrine.[1] There is nothing for it but to return to State-religion. This is the real explanation of the modern religious wars, less bloody, but not less serious. The Prussian Kulturkampf[2] directed by Prince Bismarck (1871–1878) was but a struggle of Protestantism with Catholicism. The latter is tending to reconquer its old positions; the former still resists. The Kulturkampf is over, and Protestantism is losing ground. The struggles of Catholicism have shifted their field.[3]

The Protestant self-defence, of which the persecution of Catholics was but symptomatic, was especially violent in Switzerland. After the vexatious attitude of the Protestant majority, the Catholic cantons united in the *Sunderbund*; they were defeated. After the Vatican Council the persecution waxed still angrier: priests and bishops were expelled in numbers. The Catholics did not give up. The exiles returned; Dr. Zemp was elected member of the Federal Council in 1891; the Catholic University of Freiburg, founded in 1889, is prosperous.

Contemporary Protestantism preserves, therefore, a very considerable political and national importance, though much diluted by modern tendencies. What remains energetic is the Protestant *spirit*, a spirit of rationalism, criticism, intellectual independence, private judgement. From this point of view, Luther has done a solid and lasting work, for he has woven into his system the strongest instincts of mere human

[1] Döllinger already reckoned thirty-eight German Protestant sects.

[2] *Cf.* Lecture xxiv. 14–16.

[3] We prefer not to insist on the tendencies of Prussia to Protestantize; which means, for her, to "Germanize." The policy followed in Alsace and Poland is significant. The attempted constitution, under Friedrich Wilhelm III., of an Evangelical Church of Prussia, by an eclectic fusion of Calvinists and Lutherans belonging to the same kingdom, is especially remarkable.

nature.[1] What was this system, and what is it from the point of view of dogma? This remains for us to examine.

Part II. Lutheran Doctrine[2]

1. Luther's Doctrine.—1. *The Primitive State of Man.* Against theologians who see in original justice a *supernatural gift* of God, Luther regards it as belonging to human nature *as such*: against those who treat it as an accidental attribute, he asserts that it forms an integral part of the essence of the first man.

Man possesses no liberty: his acts are only seemingly free. God disposes of all things by irresistible determinism: man's actions are, therefore, fundamentally God's. Hence God works evil, no less than good, by means of creatures.[3]

For lack of liberty, Adam in his sin merely succumbed to necessity.[4]

2. *Original Sin.*—Original sin created an evil essence in man, the opposite to the original good essence. Made radically evil, he can only, and must always, sin, when he uses his powers. All his actions are sins, and all actual sins are so many fruits and manifestations and forms of original sin. By sin, man has lost the very faculty, either of knowing the

[1] Similarly the French Revolution, having identical tendencies, has had an identical success.

[2] Lutheran doctrine is complicated, because Luther himself varied with the impression of the moment. He is indeed self-contradictory, though Moehler tries to reduce the whole Lutheran system to a fundamental error upon the primitive state of man. There can be no better way of capturing the true thought of Luther than by having recourse to his own works and the principal earlier Lutheran Symbols—the Confession of Augsburg, the Articles of Smalkalde, the *Book of Concord* (1577), which proposes to establish an "Orthodox" formula against the invasion of innovations.

[3] "God pleases you when He crowns the unworthy: He must also please you when He damns the innocent" (*De Servo Arbitrio*). From all eternity, A is *antecedently* predestined to glory, B to damnation.

[4] Yet this necessitated act provoked the wrath of heaven and induced the most appalling chastisement. A fundamental contradiction.

Divine Will, or of acting according to such knowledge.[1]

3. *Justification.*—(A.) Panic-stricken when he hears the Law of God proclaimed, the sinner learns the good news that Jesus Christ takes away the sins of the world. By the Faith which alone justifies, he appropriates the merits of the Saviour. Because of these merits God declares the sinner justified, though he really is not, for original sin subsists in him, reputed innocent though he be. To God alone belongs the work of regeneration; to Him belongs all glory; man has no least share in it.

Man co-operates with grace no more than "mud or stone," purely passive as he is in the hands of God. In consequence, from all eternity God has predestined men either to glory or to damnation.[2]

Regenerate man is no longer the same individual. His higher faculties have literally been re-created. Hence no real repentance, no penance can be involved. How, indeed, should these new faculties repent an ill they had not done?

To justify or to declare just, is to absolve from sin and from the eternal penalties due to it because of the justice of Christ which God imputes to faith. Justice remains in Christ: *our* justice is therefore outside of us; it does not penetrate our soul, but merely covers its unrighteousness. Thus the Redeemer *covers* man with His shadow, and hides his unrighteousness from God's eyes. The faithful are therefore held just because of Christ's obedience, though really, because of the corruption of their nature, they are and remain sinful till death.

(B.) Justifying Faith. "We are justified by faith

[1] "Luther has taken the assertion that man has no more any will for good in so extended a sense, that it logically follows that man fallen from God has lost the very faculty of willing." G. J. Plank, *Geschichte der Entstehung der Veränderung u. der Bildung unseres protestantischen Lehrbegriffs*, Leipzig, 1781–1800, etc., etc.

[2] It was Calvin who drew the logical consequences of Luther's premisses, and taught absolute predestination.

alone." Faith is "confidence that we have returned into favour with God, and that in view of the merits of the Saviour we have obtained pardon for our sins."[1] Luther draws a conclusion: ". . . . thou seest how rich is the Christian. Even if he wishes it, he cannot lose his salvation by any sin, unless he wills not to believe; for, except sins against faith, no sin can exclude from Salvation." Faith is compatible with the greatest sins. "Sin sturdily; believe more sturdily still." Here is the explanation. Since *we* are incapable of any good at all, it is *God*, Luther is reduced to holding, who, in man's heart, believes in Himself and hopes in His own promises; and as in all things He has pleasure only in His own works, He sees in us with satisfaction only this single act of mercy.

The Christian must be certain of possessing heaven some day. From his first good desire, he must have the certainty that God has commenced to work in him and will continue His work. Certainty of salvation supposes, first, that God has predestined such and such persons to glory; next, that God alone acts in His elect (for they cannot get rid of grace once it has been felt). Faith, or rather confidence, must be followed by charity and good works, which contribute, however, to justification not at all; their absence costs the justified man nothing: he is justified directly he *trusts*. In consequence, works are useless.[2] They are, moreover, impossible, for original sin and its effects subsisting even in the justified man not only make good works impossible, but still turn all his actions into mortal sins, which are remitted, however, because of faith. Man cannot fulfil God's law.[3] Hence, too, merit must absolutely be denied; and in view of the sole sufficiency of faith, works of

[1] Melanchthon said: Faith is an absolute confidence in the Divine mercy, without any regard to our good or evil actions.

[2] This point was hedged with distinctions which merely confuse the question.

[3] In this dogmatic synopsis we offer only principles. They suffice to show, however, that Lutheranism cannot have a moral theology.

supererogation, penance, indulgences, intercession of saints, must vanish, and purgatory is put out.

4. *The Sacraments.*—These are no more than signs of our faith in the promises of Christ. In themselves they are valueless, and act only in proportion to the faith of the recipient. They neither contain nor produce grace; they are the pledge of the Gospel promises; they excite confidence, by comforting the faithful and assuring them of the forgiveness of sin. No value, therefore, is in the *thing done*: all depends upon the faith of the *doer* that his sins are forgiven. Marriage and Orders, therefore, are no sacraments. Confirmation is a mere repetition of Baptism; the Eucharist, which is but the seal of the forgiveness of sins, replaces Extreme Unction: Penance is abolished. Children should not be baptized; till reason awakes, "confidence" cannot exist.[1] Baptism merely marks forgiveness of sins: hereditary evil subsists in the baptized; by faith preceding baptism adults are justified. The sins of the baptized, even mortal, do not destroy the grace of baptism and union with Christ. Baptism, therefore, not only remits past sins, but is the pledge of remission of all future sins—a sort of general absolution merely to be reapplied by faith. In fact, it produces the effects of Catholic "penance." Penance must therefore be erased from the list of sacraments. Penance, for Luther, was contrition *plus* faith. The sinner trembles, his conscience appals him—that is contrition. Faith drives out fear; confidence springs in the heart; peace follows storm; repentance is complete. Absolution, which any Christian can give, is just the declaration that sin is remitted.

5. *Scripture.*—Scripture is the only source and rule of faith. Each individual has the right to interpret it by the light given him by the Holy Ghost, the interior Revelation completing the exterior. The

[1] Hence the Anabaptists were justified in sharply accusing Luther, who still baptized children, of inconsistency.

Holy Ghost, in fact, not man, reads the Scripture: here also Luther rejects all human activity. The interior word, the voice of conscience, is that of the Holy Ghost, and the ultimate authority which defies argument or appeal.

6. *The Church.*—His theory of the Church flows from that of the intimate action of the Holy Ghost, that interior Ordination whereby each man is Priest and Doctor, independently of any religious society. No Teaching Voice survives; tradition is valueless; all religious knowledge is *immediate* to each.[1] The Church is invisible; how, then, recognize her? "Baptism, the Supper, above all, the Gospel,[2] are marks by which we may infallibly recognize her, purely interior association though she be." The Confession of Augsburg says, "The Church is the assembly of the saints." It follows at once that Christ alone can be Head of this Church: the Pope, who substitutes himself for Christ, is Antichrist. As for the Church Triumphant, the articles of Smalkalde called "Purgatory" an invention of the devil; the "Communion of Saints" means that we are free to imitate, not invoke, the saints.

2. EVOLUTION OF THESE DOCTRINES.—1. *Consequences of Luther's principles.*—The first consequence of this individual Illuminism was that it shattered unity. Schools and sects innumerable sprang up. Carlstadt was one of the earliest to declare that Luther did not understand the Bible. One day he entered All Saints Church at Wittenberg and "broke the images to obey the laws of Deuteronomy." Thus Lutheranism gave a new birth to iconoclasm.

"He who believes and is baptized shall be saved." Children cannot believe: baptism, since belief must

[1] A restriction was added: To preach the word, a man must be *sent*. But the difficulty remains, how *know* that one has this mission? The solution is again subjective. A man must feel himself inspired.

[2] The word "Gospel" is here used not in the sense of *Divine Revelation*, but of the Lutheran revelation—the immediate consciousness of Christ.

come first, is therefore in their case useless for salvation, and adults, baptized in childhood, must be rebaptized. Anabaptism was thus a second consequence.

Sacraments produce fruit only in proportion to faith. Christ is in the Eucharist just so far as we believe Him to be. In the phrase "this is my body," Zwingli accordingly substituted "signifies" for "is," Œcolampadius, "the sign of my body" for the concluding words.

Luther declared Scripture the sole rule of faith, thanks to the interior interpretation of the Spirit. Münzer took the next logical step and declared Scripture useless: the Spirit could speak direct and without vehicle.

One of the most startling results of Luther's work was the moral deterioration of the "reformed" territories. In 1524 Ickelsamer could already write to Luther, "The nearer Wittenberg, the worse the Christian." Luther himself wrote, "In consequence of this [*scil.* his own] doctrine, the world grows worse the longer it lasts . . . the people is now more avaricious, unmerciful, incontinent, naughty and worse than it was under Popery." "Who," he asked in 1534, "would have begun to preach could we have known beforehand that so much misery, evil, lust, and wickedness would be the result? But since we are now in the midst of it, we must keep on with it." He laments being born a German, and says, "If one would paint the Germany of to-day, one must paint her as like a sow" [he was extraordinarily fond of this word]. References to the "seven devils worse than the first" recur frequently; and always the excuse for sin is the "Freedom of the gospel," the futility of works, the saving power of Faith only. The apostate Franciscan von Kettenbach preached in 1525. "Many people now live as though all sins and wickedness were allowed, as if there were no hell, no devil, no God. They are worse than they ever were,

and still claim to be good Evangelicals." Another ex-Franciscan, von Güntzburg, wrote, "The Evangelicals, since they are freed from the Pope, live on in wantonness and are become twice as bad as the Papists, nay, as Tyre and Sidon and Sodom." Quotations could indefinitely be multiplied. The collapse of public morality was sanctioned when Luther, Melanchthon and Bucer gave leave for bigamy to Philip of Hesse.

2. *Eighteenth Century Rationalism.* — Thenceforward, union in religion might be despaired of. Each believes and acts after his private judgement — inspired, no doubt, but with an inspiration of which each was subjectively conscious and which none other could dispute. Immediately there follows the reign of the individual intellect, believing itself exempt from alien control, subject to no exterior direction. Hence Rationalism.

In 1735 L. Schmidt began a translation of the Bible wholly adverse, in tone, to Revelation. Edelmann painted Christianity as but the product of popular ignorance and priestcraft. In the *Fragments of Wolfenbüttel*, published by Lessing, Reimarus attacks Revelation and the Resurrection. Swept along by the current, university professors and theologians began to teach a rationalism against which the *Edict of Religion* of Wöllner was vainly published in 1788 to enforce an education in conformity with the Confessions of Faith.

3. Actual Condition of Lutheran Doctrine. — 1. *Subjectivist Evolution of Modern "Protestantism"* (*cf.* p. 12, n. 3). In the eighteenth century two schools, the Conservative or Supernaturalist, and the Modern or Rationalist, waged war to the knife. "Theology" was pitted against "religion."[1] Lessing gave new force to the subjective theory by preaching that even

[1] Biedermann and Lipsius in the nineteenth century, Pfleiderer in the nineteenth and twentieth, have chiefly, after Schleiermacher, insisted on this distinction.

were the objections against Religion to prove insoluble, "it would remain intact in the heart of the Christian who should once have gained an interior sense of its truth."

While the Conservatives still maintained the authority of Scripture, the divine character of Christianity and of Christ, their adversaries soon reached the furthest limits of daring speculation. A middle course has been pursued by those who, preeminently Sectarian, seek to concentrate Protestant forces against the Catholic Church. Nietzsche, Dorner, and Beyschlag are its representatives in the nineteenth century, but it is curious to note that all three schools seek to father themselves on Schleiermacher (1768–1834).

Schleiermacher is the founder of Neo-Protestant theology. He is a Prophet "before whose intuitions we bow even if we do not follow his deductions": a Pantheist—the same Being which, considered in its multiplicity, is called the Universe, in its unity must be called God. Religion for him is the conviction of man's utter dependence upon God. Faith, a fact of experience, neither supposes nor demands theological definitions. Religious men make religion. Christ saved men because he had the fullest consciousness of the Divinity, and thus laboured towards the emancipation of humanity.

We can but refer to the colossal influence of Hegel, while Kant's influence, everywhere supreme in his epoch, was here, however, less direct. Where Schleiermacher substituted Sentiment (Gefühl) for dogma, and Hegel the Idea (Begriff), Kant proposed Reason (Vernunft) as religious criterion, at least in so far as the "practical reason" restored to the soul that certainty of God and its own immortality which the processes of "pure reason" refuse to sanction.[1]

From the sphere of religious *speculation*, the

[1] *Cf.* Friedrich Paulsen, *Kant der Philosoph des Protestantismus*, Berlin, 1899.

evolution travelled into that of religious *history*. Religion being but the sentiments of religious men, Scripture merely relates to us what religious men felt like long ago. Discussion now raged around the supernatural character of facts related by writers still usually regarded as in some sense divinely inspired. The historical school, *e.g.* Strauss[1] and Baur,[2] detect in the New Testament inspiration indeed, but human —that of the primitive Christianity (the mythological school) and of the early Christian *communities* (the "tendency school") respectively.

The history of Religion is therefore that of the Religious Consciousness, since Religion is but this, individual or collective. The Hebrew religion was but a product of the Hebrew mode of consciousness.[3] Historical research is invoked to find this out; and while, in order to discredit dogmas, it used to be declared that they offended against reason and philosophy, it is now maintained that they clash with historical facts.[4] Even in studying the life of Jesus, it is his *Selbstbewusstsein*—his religious consciousness —which, by elimination of all else, is being sought.

2. *Albert Ritschl*, 1822–1889, *Triumph of Individualism.*—Ritschl carried Subjectivism one step further. He claims to escape Pantheism by his doctrine of the kingdom of God, which is the sum of those who believe in Christ in so far as they act conformably to the law of Love. Schleiermacher granted the "experimental fact" which he called religion to be the feeling

[1] T. D. Strauss, *The Life of Jesus* (1835–1836), according to which the "life" of Christ is a "myth" elaborated during the first Christian communities.

[2] F. Chr. Baur, 1792–1860 of Tübingen, laid the scientific foundations of Protestant theology. He proscribes the Supernatural, and subjects the canon of the New Testament to a rigorous negative criticism. His conclusions (which moderns have, however, abandoned) tend to destroy the authenticity of the canonical books: he puts by far the greater part of them late in the first and second centuries of Christianity.

[3] Harnack, in other points a disciple of Ritschl, leads this school, of which Holtzmann, Jülicher and Loisy are associates.

[4] Vatke, Graf, Reuss, Wellhausen, Stade represent this school.

of the community; Ritschl makes it that of each individual, face to face with the Holy Books.[1] In his work *Unterricht in der christlichen Religion*, Ritschl sets out, in vague and obscure terminology, his idea of religion. Is Christ the Son of God? Yes, but by a Sonship which we can and must imitate. Is Christ God? Yes. Christianity a divine Revelation? Yes. But then each subsequent explanation annuls these admissions, so much so that the traditional Protestant theology has risen in arms against this "new religion,"[2] which refuses to pronounce on the objective reality of Jesus, of revelation, of miracles.[3]

3. *Present Position.*—The problems have to-day, owing to the successive shocks Lutheranism has received, entirely shifted their ground. We need write no longer on the "variations" of Protestantism in matters of dogma; our differences deal with the very nature of Religious Truth. The modern school will not allow that faith implies intellectual assent to objective dogmas. Faith *expresses* itself as an *impression*: it is lived, not learnt. "Is the Bible inspired?" "For me it is God's word, because in it He speaks to me more clearly than elsewhere."[4]

Mutual exasperation has bred new polemics. "Your literal respect for a strict exterior dogma reveals in you a Catholic state of mind." "You live by equivocation; in consequence of these Jesuitical proceedings Luther's Church will die." "The passion of orthodoxy to oppress theological criticism imperils all religion." "If Liberalism proceeds any further,

[1] See Ferd. Kattenbusch, *Von Schleiermacher zu Ritschl*, etc., Giessen, 1893.

[2] L. Lenne, *Heilsthatsachen u. Glaubenserfahrung*, Heidelberg, 1895.

[3] Ritschl clearly distinguishes between judgements bearing on the intrinsic *value* and the intrinsic *truth* of religious affirmations (*Seins-Urteile*), and those bearing on the subjective value which they have for our souls (*Werth-Urteile*).

[4] Rade, *Der rechte evangelische Glaube*, Leipzig, 1892. For an "opinion," Protestant theology has thus substituted an "impression." A. Sabatier, ex-*Doyen* of the Faculty of Protestant Theology of the Paris University, uses similar language.

the last hour of the Church will sound." These quotations are typical of the whole Liberal and Conservative controversy.[1]

Yet eclecticism has its place. Luther is mutilated, developed, arranged. Harnack claims that the only legitimate view of Lutheranism is possible to one who considers not his doctrine, but the whole man.

4. *The Last Step.*—Finally the question of good faith arises. Can one teach a creed one does not believe? Ritschl and his school say, Yes. Kattenbusch writes:—

> It would be a blessing of God if contemporary theologians, in spite of their discordant notions, adhered closely to the language of the Bible and the Reformation. Whoever uses this language in a loyal sense, even if he is misunderstood—whoever employs the words of this language with the firm and true intent of being faithful to them, considering them as sacred terms of Christendom, as expressions not to be laid to one side, even if they mean for him something quite different from what they do for any souls of yesterday and to-day, even if they mean for him something quite unheard of which no one else has as yet discovered, such an one must not receive contempt, but gratitude for his piety. That language is a link, like popular language. It neutralizes for the soul many a false theological opinion. Let us be glad that all theologians meet round the same words.[2]

At the Protestant Congress of Berlin in 1905, Pastor Fischer of St. Mark's Church there claimed for the preacher the right to open revolt. From the pulpit "the revelations of science" should be proclaimed. A meeting of protest was held. The Liberals took up the challenge. Pastor Rade (Director of the *Christliche Welt* of Leipzig) says: "If the Orthodox can name a single living scientist, who keeps to the letter of the Professions of Faith and the Scriptures, let them do so." There was no answer.

[1] Thus the Lutheran principle that the individual Conscience is the sole rule of Faith is working out its logical consequences. Exactly as Luther revolted against Catholic Orthodoxy, so, in proportion as the occasions of doctrinal and intellectual scepticism are multiplied, individuals revolt against Lutheran Orthodoxy in its turn—by this we mean the complexus of dogmas retained or remodelled by Luther—and Luther must confess that they have, on his own principles, full right to do so.

[2] *Von Schleiermacher zu Ritschl*, p. 17.

Rade wrote the same year: "It is cast in the teeth of moderns that they have a new religion. This accusation conceals a lack of reflection or perception. Islam was the last religion. Modernism is the natural daughter of orthodoxy. The Science of history characterises contemporary theology." Pastor Cromer of Hanover answered, "You are the enemies of our Christian Faith. If indeed it be corrupt, go and found a new religious community."

In fine, a Pastor Burggraf of Brema turned his sermons into a course of literature. On Good Friday he commented on Schiller's tragedy *Marie Stuart*. Pastor Mauritz outstrips his colleague. He baptizes "in view of God, whom, with Jesus, we call Father"; or "in view of the only God, in whom we live, move, and have our being, and whom the Christian Church surnames Father, Son, and Holy Spirit."[1] Rade, in 1906, congratulates Römer, who, preaching at Remscheid, says that Christ's title, Son of God, is but an "image," a "symbol," and means "Elect of God."

In 1906, the Free Conference of "Social Christians" (group of Pastor Stöckler, director of the *Deutsche Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* of Berlin) recognized that the Reformation had been socially sterile.[2] Nor is it wonderful that on all sides anxiety and even despair reveals itself, and thinkers are recognizing more and more that, for good or ill, "Protestantism,"[3] in the words of a celebrated Protestant, "is but a series and collection of religious phases of Free Thought."[4]

Appendix: Calvinism

1. Calvin, 1509–1564.—John Calvin, the great French reformer, was born 10th July 1509, at Noyon.

[1] The story goes that he has baptized in the name of the Good, of Progress, and of Evolution.

[2] On the social doctrine and work of the Reformation, see G. Goyau, *L'Allemagne Religieuse: le Protestantisme.*

[3] Gabriel Monod, *Revue Historique*, 1892, p. 103.

[4] Of course the religious sense of the people often survives these views of theologians. Nor do the remarks of pp. 22, 23 apply to present-day morality.

"Converted"[1] between 1529 and 1530, he attacks Scholasticism—the tradition, discipline, and doctrine of the Church are corrupt: he flies from Paris, meets Bucer at Strasburg, Erasmus at Basel; publishes the first edition of his *Christian Institute* in 1536. Forceful dialectician as he is, nothing can less resemble the fiery, popular Luther than this intellectualist, aloof and cold, using rapiers, not bludgeons, in his polemic.

After many difficulties, he reorganized his new home, Geneva, entirely on a religious basis, enjoying his triumph from 1555 to 1564, when he died. To establish his theocracy, he displayed inexorable rigour towards opposing parties, set up the "Consistory" (now the administrative body in the Calvinist Church) as a Tribunal of Morals; and, where excommunication proved ineffectual, banished the offender. To perpetuate his doctrine he founded the Academy of Geneva in 1559.

2. *Calvin's Doctrine.*—Calvin derived his doctrine from Luther, but added and subtracted not a little. The Frenchman's system is infinitely more coherent and logical than the German's.

From Luther he took (1) *The Scriptures* as sole rule of faith; the canonical books we shall recognize "by the witness and interior persuasion of the Holy Spirit;" (2) the theory of man's *primitive state*, of *original sin* and its consequences, especially in regard to free-will. Sanctifying grace was the natural prerogative of man before the Fall: he had also free-will, by using which he need not have fallen. By the Fall, human nature is substantially altered, and remains mere corruption: man is not free, but follows, necessarily, the sweet attraction of Grace or that of Concupiscence. Even the best of man's actions, "outside" Christian faith, are sins. Even the works of the justified are intrinsically sins, but covered by the grace of Jesus. Man, though not free, is responsible, because

[1] See P. Bernard, *Études*, July 5, 1909, *La Conversion de Calvin.* The history of this conversion is still quite obscure.

"necessitated" by God, not "forced." God has frankly commanded man to do what he essentially cannot do, that man may learn his own weakness.

He took over also Luther's theory of *justification by faith alone.* The saving principle is foreign to man, and works "in him without him"; if he has the firm confidence that sin is forgiven, it is so, by the imputation of Christ's merits. The whole operation is purely extrinsic to man. All justified souls are, therefore, equally holy; for their justice is, in each case, Christ's. Hence, good works have no relation to salvation. Saving faith necessarily produces them.

Calvin added the doctrines of: (*a*) The necessary permanence of grace and the certainty of salvation. Luther demands us to be certain we are *justified*, once we believe in Christ; Calvin, that we are eternally saved; grace cannot be lost. (*b*) Absolute Predestination, antecedent to Creation or to Fall. Calvin throws overboard man's liberty, and indeed God's justice, to solve this insoluble problem. Who wills the end, wills the means. God wills the damnation of the reprobate; He therefore wills their sins.[1] He ordered the first man's fall, and our own falls. How save, then, Responsibility? God's Command, he answers, by transgressing which we sin, is other than His Secret Will, in accordance with which our sin is sinned.

Calvin, moreover, modified Luther's doctrine of the Church and Sacraments. Luther let the state absorb the Church: Calvin wishes the Church to absorb the State. The Church is visible; her pastors are bidden to teach; they are equal under the one head, Jesus Christ; they are elected by vote; to them is entrusted the discipline of excommunication. The Sacraments are a witness of the grace of God to us, confirmed by the exterior sign. Sanctifying grace can, however,

[1] Luther said, "*permitted* their sins." Calvin would have none of this distinction.

be attached to nothing exterior. Baptism is the sign that we "are received into the company of the Church"; we are "washed and purged thereby for the whole of our life to come." If we fall, we must "remember that we are baptized." Yet baptism is not necessary for salvation. Calvin, in his doctrine of the Supper, seeks similarly to steer a middle course between Luther and Zwingli. Hence similar contradictions flow. "We are united to Jesus Christ—really and by a true and substantial unity." Yet he intends to recognize in the Eucharist merely a virtual presence. To explain this subtlety would take us over-far.

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NOTE.—The writer of these pages has thought best to attempt a clear historical and theological account of Lutheranism, even at the expense of a complete and satisfactory portrait of the man Luther—a portrait which is but now being almost entirely redrawn, as people are becoming more and more aware of the habitually violent and obscene language of that passionate man. Those who desire to test this may find examples accumulated with distressing accuracy and candour in Fr. Denifle's work; of this book it is not too much to say that it has had an unequalled share in destroying the Luther-myth of our ancestors. That the complicated psychology of Luther or the secret of his immense influence in religious history are as yet fully elucidated, none will maintain.

WESLEYANISM

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Dr. Johnson would have us send, when there is need of "evangelical work" (that is, of earnestness, piety, and devoted effort among the criminal class), for a "Methodist Preacher or a Popish Priest." "Oh, for a soul like his!" cried a founder of American Methodism, on closing the life of St. Francis Xavier. And not from Catholic authors shall come aspersions on the character of Wesley. Milner ungrudgingly admits his sincere purpose; Möhler, his "burning zeal for the Kingdom of God." Newman saw in him "the suggestion of the supernatural qualities of a Catholic saint"; Mr. W. S. Lilly looks in vain outside the Church for one so near to the spiritual stature of the great heroes of Christendom.

It is, then, in a spirit of all kindliness and courtesy that we shall try to study the history of an institution which was founded only for the better service of God in the name of Christ.

I. Early History

About a score of religious bodies claim descent from the parent stock of Wesleyanism as inaugurated by John Wesley[1] in the eighteenth century, but most of them are offshoots from the American branch, which

[1] For biographical references see *Bibliography*. Wesley's *Journals* are referred to as J.; his *Sermons* as S. He was born 1703; 1729–1735 is the period of "Oxford Methodism"; 1738 (his definite "conversion") –1740, "Moravian Methodism"; 1740, formation of a separate Society at the Foundery; 1743, "Rules" published; 1791, died.

had already grown large during Wesley's lifetime. Three bodies of importance now represent English Methodism: the Wesleyan, the Primitive Methodist, and the United Methodist Churches. The Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, for whose existence the Countess of Huntingdon and George Whitefield were largely responsible, never had any vital connection with the "people called Methodists." To this coveted term of reproach Wesley would allow no claim save in those who loyally adhered to his doctrines, and cheerfully shouldered the yoke of his discipline. "If you would be Methodist you must be Wesleyan," is a fair summary of his words in the memorable sermon preached at the foundation of the City Road Chapel. "All others are branches broken from the tree," are his very words.

We are dealing here with the Mother Church only, and shall touch upon its offshoots only in so far as they illustrate its rise and progress.

(*a*) *Wesley and à Kempis.*—The seed of Methodism was sown in 1725, when Wesley, fired by à Kempis, longed "to give God all his heart" (J., 13). To the study of the "Christian Pattern" he added that of Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living and Dying* and William Law's *Christian Perfection.* Law, indeed, afterwards claimed to have been a leader, a "kind of oracle," for Wesley himself; but in 1773 Law became, as Wesley called it, "Behmenish,"[1] and Wesley attached himself to the Moravians.[2] But when this strange alliance was finally broken, the "pious Kempis" still remains a "kind of oracle" to Wesley, second only to the oracles of God. More than twenty years after his conversion at the Moravian meeting at Aldersgate (1738), when he "ceased to be funda-

[1] A follower of the German mystic Jakob Behmen (Böhme), 1575–1624.

[2] A German sect, originated in Bohemia about 1450; it received a sort of mystical renewal from Count Zinzendorf about 1722, and after this time began to increase in influence in England.

mentally a Papist," Wesley is to be found opening the *Imitation* at haphazard, and looking to the passage he lights upon for guidance. In the "Rules of a Helper," marching orders for the Wesleyan ministry, he exhorts his preachers to let no day go by void of meditation on its words, and these rules are still read yearly at every Methodist synod, while Wesley's own edition of the *Imitation* was carefully preserved by his first followers. Indeed, all that is sound and good in that doctrine of Holiness which to this day (*cf.* p. 15) is at the heart of Wesleyanism, and was the rallying-point of the devout young men at Oxford, is traced by Wesley himself to the world-famous volume of Thomas à Kempis. For, "without holiness no man shall see the Lord," was indeed the motto of the young reformer, the synthesis of the Oxford Methodism of 1729–1735, the differentiation between himself and all contemporary preachers of a merely "imputed righteousness." To it must be ascribed the ascetical, philanthropic, and evangelical activities of the little group he captained; and from it flowed the obligatory use of the "ordinances"—prayer, public and private, regular fasting, reception of the Communion as often as possible. Moreover, readers of the *Imitation* could not but burn to diffuse the good they drew from it. Mutual edification was far from satisfying them. Like Loyola at Paris—with whom, as with Newman, Wesley may well be constantly compared and contrasted—the Englishman was bent on evangelizing his fellow-students. Ignatius brought the University about his ears by urging on his colleagues more frequent use of the Sacraments. Wesley, who urged as obligatory the receiving of Holy Communion at least once a week, was denounced with indignation chiefly by the spiritual guides of Oxford, as is abundantly made clear by the letter to Mr. Morgan, prefaced to his *Journals*, on the opposition offered to these "Sacramentarians" of the "Holy Club." So long as Wesley lived to guide his folk

along the Oxford paths, the practice survived. Fifty-five years after writing his sermon on the "Duty of Constant Communion," he incorporated it into a second series of his sermons, with a foreword in which he thanks God he has not yet "seen cause to alter my sentiments on any point which is therein delivered." Unable to attend church, he communicates at home (Nov. 1741); he imposes attendance on his Societies; his followers actually frequented the altar of their parish church daily in the octaves of Easter and Christmas. Separated from the Establishment, the Wesleyans have profoundly modified their behaviour. Driven from the Anglican altar, they have set up their own, administered first by laymen, later by an ordained ministry. But so few are the ordained preachers, that this "ordinance" has become inaccessible, to many, more than once a quarter. The Communion-rails, even where the rite is frequent, are too often empty; some have indeed counselled complete abstinence as a protest against "formalism."

One of the first four men dubbed "Methodist" killed himself by fasting. Wesley, however, made fasting a primary rule in his Societies. His Oxford followers, rigorous in this practice, were nicknamed Supererogationists. But in the *Standard Sermons*, to which aspirants to the Wesleyan pulpit must subscribe, fasting, far from being "supererogatory," is proved part of God's Law obligatory on all Christians. For some years Wesley's later disciples observed the rule "without exception" (S., 116): he warns the lax that "the man who never fasts is no more in the way of salvation than the man who never prays" (*ib.*). Fasting, with prayer, earns his recovery from sickness, and averts national invasion. To-day, the date of the Quarterly Fast still appears on the Wesleyan Church Calendars. How many are there who seriously observe it?

(*b*) *Continuity of Oxford Ideas.*—Not only these external practices, however, unite the pre- and post-Aldersgate Methodists. Wesley's hold on the teach-

ing of à Kempis never at any time relaxed. That teaching is embodied in the University Sermon of 1733, on "Circumcision of Heart," "which," says Wesley in 1765, "contains all that I now teach on this head." We shall, indeed, have to show that Wesley actually exaggerated his Oxford teaching under the guise of the perilous doctrine of "Entire Sanctification"; here, however, we wish only to insist that Wesley's "conversion" maintained the rejection, implied by his Oxford life, of the doctrine of "imputed righteousness." On the very brink of the grave (1790) he recapitulates the Oxford Sermon, and says:—

"Such has been my judgement for these threescore years without any material alteration. . . . Some have supposed that when I began to declare: By grace ye are saved through faith, I retracted what I had before maintained: Without holiness no man shall see the Lord. But that is an utter mistake" (Sermon on "The Wedding Garment").

Thus the celebration of the Wesleyan Centenary in 1839 pushed out of sight ten years of Methodist history; for, consistently with what we have seen of the continuity of the Oxford ideas, Wesley assigns the origin of Methodism not to 1739, but "to the Society which began at Oxford in 1729" (S., 107).

Doubtless the institution of the Society at the Foundery in 1739 signalized the corporate existence of the less highly organized Society of the preceding decade of change and conflict; but that decade traced the channels for many a long year of later Methodist activity, and coloured that activity itself.

Why was not Wesley content to join one of those Anglo-German revival societies, modelled on the Collegia Pietatis of Philip Jakob Spener, so active in England since the Stuarts? First, Sacheverell had denounced them as favouring dissent, and this would have repelled both John and Charles. Their energies were moreover spent. They were, one after the other, to be absorbed by Wesley, while he was founding his own societies in London, Bristol, or

Newcastle. They were indeed to form the nucleus of his "United Societies," the converging-point of the originating forces of Wesleyanism. This did not, however, take place till Wesley himself had been influenced by the pietistic German Moravianism inspired by Peter Böhler and Count Zinzendorf.

(*c*) *Moravian Methodism.*—In 1735 the Oxford Society dispersed, and the Wesleys, holding fast to their Oxford traditions of personal and inward holiness, looked to the Moravians. The rules of the Fetter Lane Society, of which John was for a time the moving spirit, formally announce Wesleyanism as an off-shoot of Moravianism. "By the command of God, of St. James, and by the advice of Peter Böhler," ran the preamble.

This formal union was the result of five years' ardent affection. "I scarce meet any of them (the Moravians) but my heart burns within me," writes John. Charles was yet more fired. Doctrinal differences snapped the bonds, and a meeting, rival of the Moravian, was established at the Foundery in 1739. Wesley puts the matter in a nutshell: "The grand error of the Moravians, is that they follow Luther for better or worse, and hence their 'no works, no law, no commandments'" (J., v.).

The true explanation of this schism is therefore that Wesley held to and preached the necessity of works, personal sanctity, and "ordinances" to attain salvation, consistently with his Oxford doctrine. Southey loses sight of this altogether when he assigns the breach to differences in character between Wesley and Zinzendorf, and, in reality, is unfair to the Englishman's high feeling. Not ambition, nor pique, decided the separation, but a conviction which Moravian opposition did but accentuate. Thus conclude their negotiations towards a settlement of the disputes, as recorded by Wesley in the *Journals*:—

Wesley.—Is it not by denying ourselves, that we do die more and more to the world and live to God?

Zinzendorf.—All abnegation we spit forth, we spurn (*respuimus, conculcamus.*) Believing, we do all we will and nothing beyond. All mortification we deride.

Yet Wesley's worship of the Germans and fluctuating friendships had early undermined his Oxford influence. At first the "Bible Moths" had checked individual judgement by the use of ancient Fathers, "that we might not lean to our own understandings" (J., i.). But the necessity for a living voice, not lifeless books, asserted itself. When Law turned to Böhme, and Wesley from Law to Böhler, the sheep, unshepherded, drifted each to its own way. Gambold submitted to Zinzendorf. Hervey and Whitefield embraced High Calvinism. Ingham set up an Independent Church. Hall subsided into Deism. "First one fell off and then another, till not two of us were left together in the work besides my brother and me."

(*d*) *Calvinistic Methodism.*—Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, met Wesley at Fetter Lane, and, after his exit from the Moravians, bestowed her wealth and influence on the organized extension of Calvinistic Methodism. Whitefield, never really sympathetic in doctrine with Wesley, had entered the Oxford circle at the eleventh hour, and now, joining the Countess, preached "another gospel," that of "the horrible decree," and Wesley cries that he has never "had any manner of connexion with the original Methodists" (S., 132). Here, too, the light was with Wesley. Whitefield saw in Wesley's doctrine "the back-door to Popery." Calvinists, expelled from Wesley's Societies, took up this echo of the Dort Synod. Its victims, and Wesley no less, were hand and glove with Trent. The sermon on "Free Grace," against the inroads of High Calvinism in 1740, is mainly a masterly vindication of the Tridentine Canons. Calvinism, Wesley argues, makes God author of moral evil; nullifies the Atonement; denies God's serious will for the salvation of all men if He decrees men to damnation in spite of their free-will. The "horrible decree" contains "such

blasphemies as .... might make the ear of a Christian to tingle." "Holiness, which is the end of all the ordinances of God, is robbed of its first motive—hope of reward and future punishment." Zeal for good works is destroyed. Yet Wesley and Whitefield were still friends, and promised to avoid, as far as possible, preaching on this topic. Of this Wesley afterwards repented. Attempts at reunion with the Moravians failed; as for the Calvinistic Methodists, "My Lady's preachers," he wrote, "raw lads of little understanding, little learning, and no experience, tear the infant societies in pieces and seize on every halting soul as their legitimate prey."

To the 1739 London Society Wesley soon affiliated those of Bristol, Newcastle, etc., calling the whole the *United Society*. Local Societies were divided into *Classes* of about twelve, each under a Class leader, who was weekly to visit, exhort, reprove, etc., his members; the minister meets the Class quarterly, receives contributions, hears reports and criticisms, and distributes tickets of quarterly membership. Since 1847 this "ticket" test has become more and more unpopular. The wealthy and educated protested against the Class leaders' inquisition. Guilds, numbering over 176,000, exist, distinct from the Classes. An ex-president has well said, however: "When the Class-meeting dies, Methodism, if it survives, will undergo some silent but profound and disastrous change."

Wesley classified his men, almost on the Moravian and Waldensian plan, into beginners, advancing, and perfect, drafting them into *Classes*, *Bands*, and *Select Societies*. After 1768, however, no official notice was taken of the Bands. Towards the close of the century the Select Societies (regarded by Wesley as the marrow of the "Great Revival") also lapsed—victims to the dislike for spiritual publicity and revivalism. The Classes may well follow them.

The "Rules," which are still in force, are Puritan in tendency, condemning most amusements, orna-

ments, alcohol, and the like. All without the Methodist pale is the "world," and to be banned. Inter-marriage and mutual help in business, etc., are strongly inculcated.

Two important modifications have, however, been introduced. The weekly collections, once consecrated to the poor, now support the ministry. Next, Methodism is frankly a sect in itself. Wesley had two ideals. First, his Institute was to be based on dogmatic indifference. Presbyterian, Quaker, Anabaptist, could be Methodist, yet attend their own congregations (S., 104, 107). This was unique, he held, in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America (S., 115). Yet he was simultaneously resolved to Anglicanize it as far as possible. The parish church must be frequented (S., 104), its hours of service undisturbed; Dissenters must be weaned from their chapels (S., 115). To his death he inveighed against separation. This has always been a weakness. While Church Methodists have often retained the Prayer-Book, it has also been denounced in Conference as heretical and Romanizing; and the Puritan party has scored many a triumph—the erection of a "Popish" organ at Leeds resulted in more secessions than were the members gained by Wesley in a whole lifetime (*cf.* p. 30).

For forty years Wesley held a Conference which, as its members were elected by him and obedient to his absolute authority, was a mere consulting board. By the 1784 "Deed of Declaration" it became a legal body, and invested 100 preachers—"the Legal Hundred"—with right to govern the "Societies." They formed the "Conference of the People called Methodists," and had right of co-option. All chapels and property were held in trust for them. They alone could admit, station, expel preachers.

Meanwhile Dissenters, no less than Anglicans, were excluding his people from the Communion. In 1764 he obtained Greek orders for certain preachers, a most unpopular step. Not till 1784 did he act on his con-

viction that "Bishops and Presbyters are of the same order," and ordain Mr. Coke and others for America.

It is difficult fully to account for this step. The conferring of Baptism required no Orders. To every "ministerial" baptism there were five (fifty years later) by local preachers.[1] Numbers of English Methodists now die unbaptized, a thing of unconcern to their "regularly ordained" ministry. And anyhow, Coke at least was already ordained Presbyter in the Anglican Church, and if "Bishop and Presbyter are of the same order," Wesley could not have meant *further* to consecrate him Bishop. Was he then simply confusing Jurisdiction with Order? If "the world was his parish," certainly Wesley had "Jurisdiction" and could confer it. But why was it not Coke's parish too? What more had Wesley than he? Practice and theory diverge.

After this he ordained without scruple; in 1785 for Scotland; in 1786 for Ireland; in 1789, probably, for England; while of Mather he makes a "Superintendent" to ordain a "regular" untainted clergy for the future.[2] But of this more below (p. 29 *sq.*).

Wesley grouped the Societies into *Circuits* under a "Helper" or chief preacher responsible to him. The Superintendent now replaces the Helper, and the Conference, Wesley. Local preachers, resident in the Circuit, supplement the Superintendent and his two colleagues in proportion of seven to one. No minister remains in a Circuit over three years. After Wesley's death (1791) the Circuits were grouped into Districts, subject to Conference, under committees of discipline and direction. The permanent lay pastors are Leaders who, with stewards, form the Leaders' Meeting, a body ill adjusted to the itinerant ministry. Until 1797 admission was entirely in the Itinerants' hands. In that year the Leaders' Meeting was definitely allowed to assume the characteristics of a church court, a considerable concession to democracy.

Leaders, local preachers, stewards and trustees, form the powerful Circuit Quarterly Meeting. Conference, for the first half of the nineteenth century, jealously refused to define its institution, thereby courting secession. In 1852, however, it was given very large powers over the Circuit, into the details of which we have no space to enter.

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[1] Gregory, *Side Lights on the Conflicts of Methodism*, p. 254, 1899.

[2] Fitchett, *Wesley and his Century*, p. 417, 1906; and *Side Lights*, p. 220; the formula runs: "Mayest thou receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Christian Minister now committed to thee by the imposition of our hands" (*cf.* Hammond, p. 103).

II. Specific Doctrines

(*a*) Total Depravity. — Luther and Calvin, holding that Adam was possessed of none but natural gifts, held in consequence that the Fall had essentially ruined his human nature as such, depriving it, first and foremost, of free-will. Wesley, however, believed Adam to have been endowed with supernatural graces, and had he believed that of these only humanity was deprived by the Fall the return to Catholic doctrine would have been nearly complete. But the generation of teachers preceding had practically taught *natural* religion to be the only religion, and it was largely in reaction against this that Wesley, round to the opposite pole, denounced it as hatred of God, and was almost driven back to the extreme Protestant position. "Here is the Shibboleth," he cried: "'Is man by nature filled with all manner of evil? Is he void of all good? Is he wholly fallen? Is his soul totally corrupted?' . . . Allow this, and you are so far a Christian; deny it, and you are but a heathen still" (S., 45). Fallen man "can do nothing but add sin to sin" (S. 17). "He is all sin, a mere lump of ungodliness who commits sin in every breath he draws" (S., 6). His heart is "essentially evil" (S., 5). To repent, he must have a conviction that "he has been heaping sin upon sin ever since he could discern good from evil" (S., 33). "The prayer of an unbeliever is full of sin" (J., iv.). Yet if free-will be lost "man would be as incapable of virtue as stones" (S., 66). Hence "a degree of liberty" survives in him (S., 124). That belongs to the "natural" image of God, in which, as well as in his "moral," man was created (S., 45). While the moral is wholly destroyed, the natural is only partly so (S., 57). Yet man is "free only to evil; free to drink iniquity like water" (S., 9); "his understanding can no more attain to a knowledge of God than the wild ass's colt" (S., 45). Indeed, Wesley attributed an identical "understanding" and

liberty to brutes and to fallen men (S., 60); both alike have reason and power to deal with finite objects of the lower world, but not to know and love God (*ib.*).

> "Fools never raise their thoughts so high:
> Like brutes they live, like brutes they die."

Hence arose a Protestant Quietism. For, reasoned Wesley's disaffected followers, if the prayers of an unbeliever are full of sin, then in God's name let him be urged to abstain from prayer. Hence, too, the essentially Protestant view of justification, in which man is purely passive in the hands of the Almighty. But with ripening years Wesley practically abandoned these positions. His really distinctive doctrines are summed up in the formula, "present, free, and full salvation."

(*b*) SALVATION: 1. *Free.*—In view of what has been and is to be said, we insist again that Wesley believed himself to support man's *free-will* as opposed to the Calvinistic theory of predestination. "God deals with us as free agents from first to last" (S., 66). True to his Arminian[1] instinct, Wesley, with Trent, speaks of a *resuscitatory* grace, reawakening dormant faculties, not re-creating the dead and destroyed. But while grace thus initiates, prospers, and freely consummates all good, salvation implies, he urges, two parts: *Justification*, which accentuates *present* salvation; and *Sanctification*, which emphasizes the fulness, or *entirety*, of salvation.

2. *Present.*—Wesley modifies the Reformers' interpretation of justification by faith. The Remonstrants defined "saving or justifying faith" as "that which worketh by charity," including in itself obedience, the source and the root of sanctification productive of all good works. The Catholic and Lutheran deputies at Ratisbon had agreed that the sinful man is justified

[1] J. Arminius (Harmensen), 1560–1609, founder of a sect the antithesis of Calvinism in matters of predestination. It gave rise to the Remonstrant Church of the Netherlands.

by "living and active faith." Luther (*Comm. on Ep. to Galatians*) protested violently: "The faith that alone justifies is that which apprehends Christ . . . . and not the faith that embraces in it charity." Wesley wholly abandoned this. "Let all men know that we esteem no faith but that which worketh by love" (S., 25). "We would be preaching against good works, if we spake as some do of a faith which is separate from these; but we speak of a faith that is not so, but productive of all good works" (S., 1). "The faith that hath not works, . . . which does not produce outward and inward holiness, which does not stamp the image of God on the heart, is not the faith of the Gospel" (S., 33). This leaven of frankly Papist doctrine steadily purged out the Antinomianism of Wesley's Societies, yet was not fully operative till put into the vigorous and concrete form of the minutes of the Conference of 1770. Hither since the first Conference in 1744 had Wesleyan theology been painfully struggling. Here was driven home a truth that Wesley had striven in vain to couple with the Lutheran and Calvinist dogma of man's total depravity. Man, Wesley now frankly owns, is not purely passive in justification, but actively co-operates with grace throughout. Such a storm was raised among the orthodox as "in its outrageous scurrility has never been surpassed." Wesley bowed to it, and feigned a retractation, but the original minutes are adopted by his followers as sound doctrine,[1] and we quote them here:—

"We have received it as sound doctrine that 'a man is to do nothing in order to justification.' Nothing can be more false. Whoever desires to find favour with God should 'cease from evil and learn to do well.' Whoever repents should 'do works meet for repentance.' And if this is not in order to find favour, what does he do them for? Is not this 'salvation by works'? Not by the merit of works, but by works as a condition. What have we been disputing about these thirty years? I am afraid,

[1] *Wesley and his Century*, p. 381.

about words. As to merit itself, of which we have been so dreadfully afraid, we are rewarded 'according to our works,' yea, because of our works. How does this differ from *secundum merita operum*, 'as our works deserve'? Can you split this hair? I doubt I cannot" (*ib.*).

Still further from the Reformers was Wesley when he claimed for the reconciled sinner "inherent" righteousness, not merely "imputed" or extraneous; a radical change of heart, a healed will; an essential miracle worked by the passing shadow of Christ. Present, *personal*, inward salvation was asserted by Wesley. God will deal with man according to what he is in himself; not according to what Christ is, whose sanctity the Reformers predicated of the still sinful soul. "It can never consist with His unerring wisdom to think that I am innocent or judge that I am righteous because another is so. He can in this way no more confound me with Christ than with David or Abraham."

If Wesley retained the phrase "imputed righteousness," it was to conciliate Calvinists, or to avoid what, despite the explicit teaching of Trent,[1] he imagined to be the Popish doctrine—that man could merit justification. But though he kept the phrase, he tried to avoid its disastrous consequences.

"In the meantime what we are afraid of is this: lest any should use the phrase, 'the righteousness of Christ is imputed to me,' as a cover for his unrighteousness. We have known this done a thousand times. . . . It is the seeing so many deplorable instances of this kind which makes us sparing in the use of these expressions. . . . Earnestly guard all that hear you against this accursed abuse of them . . . . Warn them against . . . . making void that solemn decree of God, 'Without holiness no man shall see the Lord,' by a vain imagination of being 'holy in Christ.' O warn them that if they remain unrighteous, the righteousness of Christ will profit them nothing" (S., 20).

3. *Full.—Entire* Sanctification was a second purifying change not experienced by all the "justified" alike. Man, at the moment of justification, experiences

[1] *Cf.* Lect. xxiii. 23–25.

a real inward change, from the image of brute and devil into that of God, from the power of "outward" sin. But this is not ultimate. For the full shattering of "inward sin" he must experience a "second change." He is to expect every moment "the great salvation," when "God shall speak to his heart, Be clean!" Then only "the evil root, the carnal mind is destroyed, and sin ceases to subsist" (S., 14). This change is necessarily (*ib.*), or at least usually (S., 83), instantaneous. To describe sanctification as an "entire deliverance from every evil work, sinful thought, passion, desire, temper, from all inbred corruption, and all the remains of the carnal mind" (S., 83) is indeed to have left à Kempis and the Oxford doctrines far behind. Wesley demands that his saints be free not only from all deliberate "venial sin," but even from that involuntary impulse called "concupiscence," which he persists in identifying with sin.

From 1759–1762 those who "experienced" the truth of this doctrine "multiplied exceedingly." The London Society was conspicuous for its saints. Yet only a year later it was as conspicuous for its reckless Antinomianism. This inevitable reaction came in time to warn Wesley. The doctrine "not seldom came into quarrel with rudimentary morality. It lapsed into Antinomianism, and there were shocking examples of this peril among Wesley's own followers."[1] He soon confessed that the doctrine had not "many witnesses," and of those it had, some "spoke lies in hypocrisy," or were of "warm imagination and imagined they were sanctified when they were not" (S., 76). Those who claimed entire sanctification were grouped apart in "Select Societies." These developed rapidly, made endless discord and jealousy, and have disappeared from Methodist machinery.[2] Indeed, the doctrine which begot them is itself dead. "Sanctification" as understood to-day by the main

[1] *Wesley and his Century*, p. 380. [2] Cf. *supra*, p. 8.

body stands for much, but for less than in Wesley's mind. Inherent righteousness, power to resist evil, incompatibility of mortal sin with sanctifying grace—such is to-day the meaning of "holiness." With it Catholics cannot quarrel.

Yet cannot Catholics sympathize too with what the rejected doctrine implies? It was Wesley's effort to fill the gap caused by the Protestant denial of "Purgatory." The Reformers admitted souls, still sin-stained, into Heaven. Not so Wesley. A soul must be "entirely" holy before it could be admitted into the Divine Presence. Either the mysterious "second change" or death itself had, in Wesley's system, to replace Purgatory. Few in his day or ours could claim the first. Separation from the body, therefore, must cleanse the soul; and sin, accordingly, reside in its connection with the body. Yet against this Manichean conclusion Wesley's doctrine was intended to protest. Here then we have confusion of thought; and though special pleading alone could maintain that Wesley taught an "intermediate state," yet he held the elements which that doctrine involves—the necessity of a holiness acquired by co-operation of the will with grace, and the possibility of the removal of sin without that of its punishment also. "Sin began before the punishment, which may therefore justly remain after the sin is at an end" (S., 46).

(*c*) ASSURANCE. — This doctrine is regarded by Wesleyans as

> "one grand part of the testimony which God has given them to bear to all mankind. It is by His special blessing upon them in searching the Scriptures, confirmed by the experience of His children, that this great evangelical truth has been recovered, which had been for many years well nigh lost and forgotten" (S., 11).

That Wesleyans make pretensions to "assurance of eternal salvation" (Challoner, *Caveat against the Methodists*; Milner, *End of Religious Controversy*) is only true for the Calvinistic Methodists. The

genuine Wesleyan assurance regards only *present pardon from sin*.[1] Indeed, Wesley disliked the Calvinistic associations of the word "assurance," describing the "witness of the Spirit" as "an inward impression on the soul whereby the Spirit *immediately* and *directly* witnesses to my spirit that I am a child of God" (S., 11). Some consciousness of the Spirit's presence in the justified soul Catholics admit,[2] and Wesley's criteria for discerning it are those furnished too by Aquinas. But Wesley meant more than the testimony of a good conscience, or knowledge of one's own sincerity. This he calls the "witness of our own spirit." The certainty of the witness of God's spirit is as firm as that of faith. Its possessor is infallible. He "can have no more doubt of the reality of his sonship than he can doubt of the shining of the sun while he stands in the full blaze of its beams" (S., 10).

In old age Wesley reproached himself, however, for teaching that "unless people knew their sins to be forgiven, they were under the wrath and curse of God." And this sense of assurance, together with the dogma that "man must do nothing in order to justification" (decreed false in 1770), has practically been dropped. In old days, however, those who had it not were roundly dubbed "children of the devil" (S., 106). Wesley's own retreat was covered by the distinction between God's servants (which they were who remained unconscious that their sin really was forgiven) and His sons (who knew their sin to be pardoned). The servants might expect at any moment, and were to seek, the "direct witness" granted to the "sons" (S., 11).

Of the "sons" Wesley required the "fruits of the

[1] And this need not connote assurance of *salvation*.

> "A charge to keep I have, a God to glorify,
> A never-dying soul to save and fit it for the sky.
> Help me to watch and pray, and on Thyself rely,
> *Assured if I my trust betray I shall for ever die.*"

[2] Manning, *Internal Mission of the Holy Ghost*, p. 473.

Spirit"; but the fact that millions of Christians have the fruits, yet dare not claim the full consciousness demanded, has ever led men to suspect Wesley's original distinction. Still, the value of this doctrine in bringing the Christian life home to the individual *conscience* has been great.

(*d*) Wesley's GENERAL CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIANITY must be studied if we would understand the theory of the Church on p. 24. In this complex conception it is the *ethical* ideal which had the most dramatic development.[1] In 1741 he read Luther's *Commentary on the Galatians.* It was a lightning flash. The disastrous meaning of the "religious patois" of his day, with its scouting of "works" and its endless antithesis of Law and Gospel, stood revealed to him.

> Christ, he read, came not to teach men to obey the Law of God, but to fulfil it in their stead. . . . "The Papists are so senseless and blind, that out of the Gospel they have fashioned a law of love, and out of Christ a Lawgiver. . . . When Aquinas and the other schoolmen say that the Ten Commandments are not abrogated, they know not what they assert." St. Paul, saying we are redeemed from the curse of the law, means, especially, the Decalogue. Its fulfilment is impossible, and this known impossibility is precisely the "solace of the Gospel." That God has commanded us to love him, matters not. Like Calvin and Jansen, Luther holds that God has commanded the impossible.

Wesley, revolted, saw the Reformation in a new light. Luther is "shallow, muddy, and confused." The very next day he denounces from the pulpit, "utterly ashamed," the "dangerous and blasphemous" treatise he had ignorantly recommended (J., iv.), and composes (*ib.*, v.) a syllabus of Lutheran errors. In Discourse V. on the Sermon on the Mount he reckons

[1] The *social* ideal—reciprocal manifestation of religious experiences—is, as each ensuing Conference shows, paling rapidly. His dogmatic ideal was more clear-cut than his passionate denunciation of mere formulæ and panegyric of the "heart-creed" would suggest. Resolute attachment to "fundamental doctrines co-existed with hatred of dead dogma."

Luther and the Moravians "in the highest rank of the enemies of the Gospel. . . . They really believe that they honour Christ by overthrowing His law, that they are magnifying His office by destroying His doctrine. Yea, they honour Him as Judas did . . . . by betraying Him with a kiss."

Against the predestination of certain men to evil, which makes God direct author of moral evil, as taught by Calvin, Melanchthon, Zwingli, and Beza,[1] Wesley set his face like a flint. Augustine and Aquinas colour his whole thought. Augustine's "noblest saying," "He who made us without ourselves will not save us without ourselves," and Aquinas', "He watches over each as over all, and over all as over each," often quoted by Wesley (S., 63, 84; 54, 78, 37), mark the poles of his dissent, in the affair of responsibility and providence, from the Reformers.[2]

Thus Methodists came to be railed on for Papists. Yet, Wesley condemned Catholics. "Francis of Sales and many other Romish writers have wrote strong and scripturally on sanctification," and "many [Catholics] . . . . are even to this day real inward Christians" (S., 107, 54): yet they are all wrong about justification; some byway may get them into heaven; "no Romanist can expect to be saved according to the terms of [Christ's] present covenant." But then no one can be "more ignorant of sanctification or more confused in his conceptions of it than Martin Luther" (S., 107). Calvin's teaching is "full of blasphemy." "Deists, Arians and Socinians are the firstborn of Satan" (S., 134). In England, "those accounted pillars of our Church sap the foundations

[1] *Cf.* Lect. xxviii. 30, etc.

[2] A paraphrase is the beautiful and popular Methodist stanza :—

> "Father, how wide Thy glories shine,
> Lord of the Universe—and mine;
> Thy goodness watches o'er the whole,
> As if the world were but one soul;
> Yet keeps my every single hair,
> As I remained Thy single care."

of the Faith" (*ib.*). In his controversy with Mr. Taylor, he declares the issue to be between Christianity (his system) or Heathenism. Even to-day, that Wesleyan "doctrines are still suspected only proves how imperfectly the Christian Religion, after nineteen centuries of Christian history, is understood even in Christian lands."[1]

What new doctrine does this new prophet bring, and what are his credentials? Had his "faith" meant only a subjective certainty, no credentials, clearly, had been needed. But undoubtedly he regarded it also as an intellectual assent, excluding doubt, to objectively revealed truths. Modestly, to Dr. Erskine—his great Presbyterian rival—firmly, in his *Standard Sermons* (S., 1), he calls faith an *assent* to revealed truth. This was never retracted. His old Oxford definition reappears (S., 17) as follows, expanded to exclude that *mere* intellectualism he deprecated: "Faith is not only an unshaken assent to all that God has revealed in the Scriptures and in particular to important truths—but likewise" [here is the expansion] "the revelation of Christ in our hearts . . . . a conviction . . . . a sure confidence," etc. An assent, therefore; and unshaken. But why? on what grounds? A theory of belief was inevitable.

(*e*) THEORIES OF BELIEF: 1. *The Bible only.*—Methodism accepts the Bible as the one source of Divine Knowledge and the supreme test of all theology.[2] "God's written word is the only rule and the sufficient rule both of our faith and practice" (from the "General Rules of the People called Methodists," drawn up by the brothers, and put into the hands of every candidate for full membership to-day). Fox, the founder of the Quakers (1624–1671), wrote, with a logic which contrasted with Wesley's axiom: "The Scriptures are not the adequate primary rule of faith and manners, but a secondary rule

[1] *Wesley and his Century*, p. 278.
[2] *Ib.*, p. 433.

subordinate to the spirit from which they have their excellency and certainty."

Wesley's position was the stronger, and the divergent histories of Methodism and Quakerism prove it. The creed rooted in the positive, external rule has a stability unshared by one endangered by every individual caprice. Yet, even so, its strength was its weakness. For how interpret the inspired book? Wesley would have none of an "inspired reader"! "'You need not that any man teach you,'" he wrote (J., iv.), "is a text which has been brought in support of the rankest enthusiasm." Hence dispute and subjectivism reappear. Wesley's treatise on original sin, says Sir Leslie Stephen, issues in "a wearisome wrangle over texts." Texts! exclaims Dr. Fitchett. As if a mariner should not consult the *Nautical Almanac*! Alas! not thus mechanically self-evidencing is the Bible. Calvin said the Scriptures "shone by their own light." Wesley would none of this. Calvinists cannot find their doctrine in the Bible, Wesley argues; but adds that if they can, it is only because they have mistaken its meaning. Without, then, an interpreter, the way is here opened to an infinite series of retorts.

2. *The Bible and the Articles.*—These, Canon Overton declares,[1] were Wesley's rule of faith. We cannot agree. Wesley may quote them against Churchmen, but admits them to be of private interpretation and abandons their theory of the Church (sermon on "Schism"). The first Conference "had no theology which wandered outside the limits of the Thirty-nine Articles . . . . (but was) testing and redefining their doctrines in the light of conscious spiritual experience."[2] No Wesleyan now could quote Articles or any Anglican authority as standard. His rule is practically the Bible, with Wesley's notes on part of it, and the fifty-three Standard Discourses.

[1] *John Wesley*, p. 71, 1891.
[2] Fitchett, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

But to cover one book with two more helps little. The living voice is necessary to interpret wisely.

3. *The Conference and Church Authority.*—During the nineteenth century, the Conference was the voice's mouthpiece. Not till the Manchester Conference of 1902 did it falter. The ultimate appeal was then made to what was "universally held in the Methodist Church."[1] Quite a new theory of belief is here set up; though, even so, not individuals are bound to assent, unless, perhaps, the pastors, who are expected to follow the lead of their flock. Even Wesley's writings have become, at best, provisional. Notice, however, that these were themselves not wholly inspired by the Bible, which, like all books, remained dumb to the troubled questioner.

4. *The Bible and the Authority of Spiritual Persons.*

"I sit down alone: only God is here. In His presence, I open, I read His book. . . . Is there a doubt? does anything appear dark and intricate? I lift up my heart to the Father of Lights: Lord, is it not Thy word, 'If any man lack wisdom, let him ask of God'? . . . I then search after and examine parallel passages, 'comparing spiritual things with spiritual.' I meditate thereon with all the attention and earnestness of which I am capable. *If any doubt remains* I consult those who are experienced in the things of God" (Preface to *Fifty-three Sermons*).

That Wesley "received as an axiom his own inspiration in the interpretation of Scripture,"[2] is therefore an inaccurate statement.

5. *The Bible and Tradition.*—Almost as inaccurately is it said[3] that "the Methodist theory of belief laid no stress upon the voice of antiquity." Wesley ever held it as a rule co-ordinate with Scripture. The Moravian Zinzendorf he refutes simply by declaring his doctrine to be "quite new in the Church . . . . never heard of for seventeen centuries. . . . But whatever is *new* must be *wrong*; for the *old* religion is the only

[1] Cf. *Tablet*, August 30, 1902, p. 323.
[2] Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iii. p. 137.
[3] *Ib.*, p. 151.

true" (S., 13: Wesley's). The Unitarian Taylor he similarly refutes (*cf.* p. 11). Yet this criterion implied a critical knowledge of history, and thus was "unpopular," and indeed savoured of Popery. The Wesleyan Catechism (Appendix, c. 2) speaks not too reverently of tradition.

6. *The Bible and Reason.*—"The Christian rule of right and wrong is . . . . the Old and New Testament"; that, namely, which Scripture enjoins and forbids, "either directly, and in terms, or, by plain consequences, by undeniable inference" (S., 70 and 12). Yet even so, finality was impossible. Wesley "inferred" from "Thou shalt not kill" the heinousness of suicide, and would have hanged suicides' bodies in chains. From the sanctity of the Sabbath he inferred that of Sunday. But his followers have disputed both positions.

7. *The Inner Light.*—The Bible, Conference, Tradition, Reason, the Church speaking as a whole or through her truest members—all proved inadequate. Wesley fell back on the Inner Light. "One thing I know: whereas I was blind, now I see." "The ultimate test of all religious theories is the forum of religious consciousness."[1] Why, then, write "Rules of the Society"? And where is the difference from Fox's Second Proposition: "The testimony of the Spirit is that alone by which the true knowledge of God hath been and can be revealed"? Emotional experience pervades the early Conferences which moulded Wesleyan theology. Dogmatic discussion at the Bristol Conference in 1745 turns on the "experience" of Jonathan Reeves. Dr. Fitchett deplores the Antinomianism resulting in Wesley's Helpers, and adds, "that (this new theology) sometimes lost its feet and ran the risk of falling into the ditch on one side or the other need excite no wonder."[2] Thus the London Society became in 1763 a hotbed of wild enthusiasm (J., 13). The Inner Light gave infallible

[1] Fitchett, *op. cit.*, p. 277. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 380.

assurance that the world would end on 28th February, and moved one to murmur "Ephphatha," as he laid unhealing hands upon blind eyes. Wesley struggled hard: decried "feeling," "inward impression," "imagination"; his hearers turned against him his own "infallible proof," and refused to be led by "Blind John" rather than by the Spirit.[1] Tragically he wrote: "But some may say I have mistaken the way myself. . . . It is probable many will think this: and it is very possible that I have" (Preface to *Standard Sermons*).

(*f*) THE CHURCH.—Until the publication of the *Fernley Lecture* by Dr. Benjamin Gregory (1873) "the Divine idea of the Church had lain for ages like some grand temple in the desert entombed in the sand-drifts of centuries" (Preface to 2nd edition). Loyalty to this idea, now excavated, marks the "High Church," "Orthodox," English Wesleyanism; and a Channing or a Martineau is excommunicated as false to the "basal principles of Apostolic Christianity" (p. 176).[2]

1. The ideal of First-Century Methodism was the Church *Invisible*, a living organism of genuine believers united to Christ by the Holy Ghost—a body therefore "hidden and unknown," bound by invisible bonds to an invisible Head.

> "Joined to *the hidden Church unknown*, . . .
> Securely safe I dwell alone,"

sang the Wesleys. Hence, "it can no more do with a visible, vicarious head than the body . . . . with the encumbrance of a vicarious brain." Hence from without it is *unknowable*, for it is where Christ is, and known only where His presence is known. "Where salvation is a realized fact, there is the Church" (p. 169).

[1] To-day Professor Beet can write, "The apparent favour of God (is) a very uncertain standard of the truth of the doctrines believed by those on whom He smiles" (Hammond, *Wesley*, p. 110).

[2] American Wesleyanism, by refusing to accept this idea, "with its dogmatic tests of membership," has made a structural revolution in Methodism "at variance with the whole plan and purpose of the Christian Institute" (pp. 132, 245).

It does not guide to Him: He brings it. No arguments nor external credentials exist to recommend it; its evidences are spiritual and experimental. This Invisible Church is the complement of the "Inner Light," and has no outside teaching for men who are directly taught of God.

To-day Wesleyanism is said to enfold "30,000,000 adherents, to be the largest Protestant Church in the world . . . . established in every quarter of the globe." Doubtless, their ejection from the Established Church emphasized this new idea of Wesleyanism as an autonomous body. Its origin lay deeper. *Imputed* justification yielded, in Second-Century Methodism, to *imparted* justification; *forensic*, to *real*: the former dogma connotes an invisible, the latter a visible Church. Hence the Church becomes "a grand social fact, a signal social phenomenon, a theme for history. . . . It is a society of souls, but of souls embodied. It has its outward and visible side: else what business has it in this outward and visible world?" (*Fernley Lecture*, p. 149).

2. This Visible Church is *One*. "There can no more be two Churches than two Christs" (*ib.*, p. 173)—mainly owing to its unity of *dogma*—a *volte-face* from the old position where experience was supreme. But in this unity are three stages. Till 250 A.D. the Church was healthy, but in infancy, so not yet "normal." The adolescent Church fell sick, and is still "abnormal," "dislocated," "ungracious," though not incurable. The cure must come by individual members sighing after the "normal," "ideal" Church, as it existed in Christ's intention.

"It was not part of Christ's plan . . . . that His body should be split up into rival mutually repellant or even isolated and altogether mutually independent fragments. . . . The hidden unity of the Church" was to be "manifested in a striking, compelling form" (p. 153). "In Apostolic times the Church actually was one body." Unity was "an undeniable fact of contemporary history . . . . a palpable matter of fact even to hostile heathen eyes." "To the early Christian writers the idea of an externally disunited Church was an object of agonizing deprecation" (pp. 153, 157, 158).

To-day, "essential unity, the unity of the Spirit" (p. 152) subsists, "obscured by temporary interruptions" (p. 162). For "actual union," now non-existent, "the Churches are groaning and gasping" (p. 99). Objective visibility is therefore vanished; and actual unity is only seen by the eyes of the heart (p. 183). Any *continuous* visibility must be interior. Though corporate oneness, therefore, be but an element of unity (p. 154), yet, for lack of it, Truth, to which the Church must witness, is become invisible, and shall not reappear till God has "conciliated the most opposite tendencies of human thought" (p. 211).

3. But *Fundamental Truths* cannot lapse, though *Secondary* may—a distinction to fade in the "full-orbed theology" of the normal Church. What are these truths? The dogmas of the Trinity (expressed in the baptismal formula), the Atonement, Incarnation, Crucifixion, Resurrection, Ascension, and that of the gift of the Holy Ghost "as an abiding, ever active, and realized power" (pp. 174–179). "Refuse assent, and you *eo ipso* are excommunicate." Hence, from the Church "a Christ-like intolerance" must cut off, *e.g.*, the Unitarians (pp. 112, 175–177). From this to no "ideal Church" may a man appeal. The Church exists but to witness to these objective truths. And though it can speak only through the experience of its individual members, that experience is decisive. An appeal even to the actual collective experience of the whole present Church would but set up a court, a vicarious judge with verdicts infallible and irreversible, a Pope. Hence the "all-illuminating intuition," purely personal, is the High Court before which we are *bound* to test all dogma.

Is this dogma itself secondary or fundamental? If secondary, it may be indefinitely modified or rejected. If primary, why is it absent from the authorized list? And who guarantees that list? And indeed, who assures us that the distinction of *primary* and *secondary* in revelation is valid? No

Wesleyan confines his belief to the narrow circle of "fundamental" truths: yet has not all revealed truth alike an identical sanction, source, and motive? "The precise amount of doctrinal belief necessary for salvation and Church membership is," we read, "settled already." Yet by whom? Not by experience; faith in these dogmas is admittedly antecedent to that (p. 179). Not even by Wesley. None of those we mentioned appear in the only catalogue of fundamental truths he signed (J., xiii.).[1]

4. But "objective faith must be met by subjective faith" (*Fernley Lecture*, p. 173): mere intellectual assent—the faith of devils—must become the creed of the heart, and issue in "a communicated and collective experience," an essential *fellowship*. "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church *which is* the Communion of Saints." "Conscious affinity, identity of spiritual instincts, and intuitions" (p. 182) link true believers. And these should be *intercommunicated*. Reticence here has become "a fashion and an epidemic" (p. 85); "an Œcumenical love-feast was the true Eirenicon for the distracted Churches" (p. 183). Pastors exist, not to administer Sacraments, not primarily to preach the word, but tactfully to guide and foster this mutual ministry. "Modesty," here, and the hiding of one's gifts, were self-delusion and a culpable shirking of Christian intercourse, and a disruption of the Church.

5. Unity contains, however, an ethical element besides the social and dogmatic. "The real visibility of the Church must be the character and course of life of the believers" (p. 146), *i.e.*, *holiness*—a mainly "scriptural holiness," that is, on its negative side, which appears here to denote little else than the absence of notorious evil-doers. Open sinners may not be borne. The inevitable tares must not *look*

[1] Indeed, the two described by him as such—that of original sin (in its most hideous form) and of justification by faith ("articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ," *Standard Sermons*) and the implied dogma of hell—are "secondary," open questions, for the modern Wesleyan.

like tares: counterfeit religious experiences may deceive the veriest inquisition (pp. 118–121). But there is a happier, positive side. Justification, we said (*supra*, p. 13 *sq.*), is now regarded as *real*; and hence in the heart of living, *i.e.*, the only true members of the Church, true holiness must exist at least in germ.

6. This holiness is the condition and proof of *Continuity*. The Apostles can have no successors; they are princes still living in their "authoritative and irreversible pronouncements," the Epistles (p. 49). Hence debate on Apostolic Succession is beside the mark; and indeed eighteenth-century Methodism would hear naught of such mechanical continuance (p. 146). Yet a century of internecine strife has proved that without some strong sentiment of historic continuity, "secession must be endless, and separation will beget separation to the end of the world" (p. 166). The "sentiment" would seem sufficient. *Feel* your "oneness with the Patriarchal Church" (p. 213). This is revealed by true believers being able "through all the range of time and thought to sing each other's songs and echo each other's sighs and understand each other's speech" (p. 183). Here the Church is no more an *organism*, but a "River of Life" identical with the Church of the Apostles as the arms of a delta pour from the same head-waters, all reaching to the sea.

7. And thus the Church, as *Catholic*, must be conceived, not as a body, but as a planetary system. "The most meteoric fragment of the Christian system split off explosively from some larger orb is still a cosmical Catholic body so long as it revolves around the common centre, Christ" (p. 166). The "extremest separatism" has yet its tiny Catholicity (*ib.*).

III. Disruption and Reunion

Wesley's converts, we saw, were Church of England men, recruits from Dissent, or men who had had no religion till he influenced them. Three parties, then,

formed after his death: the High Church or Conservative party, led by Dr. Coke; the Progressives, under Pawson; and the Democrats, with Alexander Kilham. At first Coke sought reconciliation with the Establishment. Failing, he tried to induce Conference to set up an Episcopal Church in England as he had in America. This failed too, and he was excluded from the Presidential chair for seven years. Most of the Chapel Trustees—the wealthier classes—backed his party, spurning, however, the notion, and refusing the style, of an ordained ministry, and claiming the right to veto administration of the Sacraments. Conference was indeed pledged to carry out "the Wesleys' plan," but the High Church Methodists interpreted this as the Anglicanization, as far as possible, of Wesleyanism; the Progressives, with the bulk of the body, held that the "openings of Providence" were to be followed regardless of consequences. Hence, Preachers could administer sacraments, orders or no orders, as the needs of the people and peace of the Societies required it. The "Plan of Pacification" (1795–1797) shows a compromise, though the Democrats stood out as revolutionaries. No distinctions between minister and people, or in Conference, were to be tolerated. Leaders and Stewards were to be popularly elected, not ministerially selected. Ministers were to be shorn of all pastoral prerogative and to be mere instruments of popular decisions. Kilham, expelled, organized (1797) the *Methodist New Connexion*, a sect which attracted only a few thousands, however, of malcontents. Most remained to sow discord in the parent body. Indeed, Methodist history, for the next fifty years, is that of the struggle against the dogma that a privileged order in any way distinct from the laity exists within the Church.

In 1807 the Church party, in the name of the sanctity of the Sabbath, obtained the condemnation of ranting Revivalist meetings held, American-wise, in camps. Next year they discountenanced the irreverent

and unscriptural custom of sitting while at prayer, and furnished chapels with hassocks—a triviality curiously connected with the foundation, in that year, of the *Primitive Methodists* by Hugh Bourne, aided, two years later, by William Clowes, a fellow local preacher. Conference, in their plan, was indeed to be supreme, but the laity were to form two-thirds of it. Travelling preachers had no pastoral prerogative. The first Conference of the Primitive Methodists was in 1820, and meanwhile the Bryanites or Bible Christians were founded (1815) by another preacher on strict Bible pattern. Here the cause of division, often obscured, is really clear. Secessionists constantly maintained that the Bible showed all members of the Church as equal: the ministers, that it taught an ordained clergy with privileges. The "Pastoral Party" reassumed the title "Reverend," sanctioned in 1818. The organ, proscribed in 1808, was officially readmitted in 1820. In 1881 Mr S. D. Waddy recalled the substitution (in 1822) in Wesley's memorial tablet in the City Road Chapel, of the phrase "chief promoter and patron of the plan of itinerant preaching," for "patron and friend of Lay Preachers, by whose aid he established the plan, etc."[1]

In 1828 *Protestant Methodism* arose, because Conference forced an organ on the reluctant Wesleyans of Leeds. Dr. Jabez Bunting, the champion of the Pastoral Party (which was responsible for this), added to the confusion[2] by further irregularities in the sense of arbitrary action, which showed clearly that the secession was "an insurrection against the Pastoral Office." In 1834 the establishment of Theological Institutions for training candidates for orders gave great offence.

In 1836 the resumption of ordination by laying on of hands sent some eight thousand to form the *Wesleyan Methodist Association*. Conference grudgingly conceded the right of "memorializing" to the Circuit

[1] Report, p. 119.

[1] *Side Lights on Methodism*, p. 54.

Quarterly Meeting—a right neutralized by limitations imposed by Bunting, the soul of all resistance to decentralization.[1] He told ministers that the superintendent was the "Angel of the Church"; his it was to vindicate the Collective Pastorate against the "ungodly pressure" of the laity; his was the last word on discipline; and his, without consulting the Leaders, to deny the Lord's Supper at will.[2] Scripture was his basis: local preachers were but local talkers; the Pastorate was supreme.

This masterful, eloquent, and quite unconstitutional statesman ruled the Conference for forty years. Four times elected President, he was really never out of office—the only autocrat, save Wesley, in Wesleyan history. From 1813–1858 the leading facts of that history were directly due to him, and practically no position could be held save with his approval.

Reaction set in. Everett, connected with certain inflammatory fly-sheets, appealing to the public from the Bunting-ridden Conference, was, in 1849, expelled. Dunn and Griffiths were sent after him. The Conference of the next year was one uproar. "No council of New Zealand chiefs could have misbehaved themselves as we have done to-day," wrote a member, as amid frantic scenes the doors closed again behind the Rev. S. Dunn.[3] The whole Connexion was convulsed, chapels closed, circuits depleted. The 1800 secessionists formed, with the Wesleyan Association of 1886, the United Methodist Free Churches, while (marking a continuity of motive) thousands joined the 1797 Methodist New Connexion. From 1850–1855, 100,000 members seceded, 60,000 refusing to join any form of Methodism whatever.

Henceforward Conference conciliates laity and lay pastorate. In 1852 the Leaders and Local Preachers become *ex officio* members of the Circuit Church Court. "Memorials" are freely allowed, though the

[1] *Side Lights on Methodism*, chap. x.
[2] *Ib.*, pp. 191, 487 *sqq.*, 505.
[3] *Ib.*, p. 476.

laity are reminded that none will be admitted which damage the three principles of Wesleyan Church Government: the integrity of the *Pastoral Office*, the inviolability of the *Connexional Principle*, and the authority of the *District Committees*.[1]

Since 1877–1878 the laity, admitted to Conference, share equally in what concerns "policy and finance." To the Pastoral Session are left questions of doctrine and discipline. But in 1900 the Representative Session was allowed to meet before the Pastoral, and was enlarged to 300 ministers and 300 laymen. In 1909 popular election of leaders by the members was a final concession to democracy unparalleled in the history of the "old body."

Yet not one of the rebellious bodies (though these have coalesced in self-preservation) has been conciliated. Methodist secession will still turn upon the pivot of the "integrity of the Pastoral Office."

[1] Minutes, pp. 156–8: in Holden.

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PRESBYTERIANISM

By M. Power, S.J.

Foreword

Presbyterianism, nowadays, though known in England, Ireland and America, and not unknown on the Continent, has become largely identified with its main stronghold in Scotland. In the matter of the Christian faith, Scottish Presbyterianism is fast becoming as fluid as English Nonconformity. Indeed, the most varying phases of belief can coexist under a wing that is even more "comprehensive" than that of the Anglican Establishment. Yet Presbyterianism does not show the symptoms of breaking up which are so conspicuous in Anglicanism.

Whence comes this difference will perhaps be shown in the following study of a system which has struck deep root in a nation that dearly loves Home Rule in Religion. Though Knox was anything but a friend of the masses, he laid the foundations of a democratic Kirk, and thus made provision for its longevity much better than the autocratic Henry VIII.

These pages contain part of the material which will be more adequately developed in a work that is already in an advanced stage of preparation.

In the limits here at our disposal, references and all that could overload the text have necessarily been reduced to the smallest possible dimensions.

I. "The One Church" of Calvin and Knox

Not only throughout the Scriptures, but throughout the vast range of the Patrology of Migne, there is to be found no plural form like "Churches," except of course in the geographical sense, as in the phrase "the Churches of Asia." The same is true of the colossal works of John Calvin (1509–1564),[1] and of his almost equally active disciple John Knox (1505–1572).[2] Both Reformers would doubtless be shocked at the extraordinary popularity of the expression, "the Churches of Christ," among their followers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. According to the great Frenchman and his Scottish imitator, the one true Church of Christ was not the old one known as Catholic and Roman: this they pronounced to be "idolatrous" and therefore outside the pale of Christianity. What took its place was emphatically not a new church, but *the* Church of Christ, which by the Divine mercy acting through them and their disciples, was purged of the accretions and corruptions heaped on it by the unscriptural institution of Prelacy and Priesthood, but most of all by the ungodly operation of the Chief Bishop and Head Priest, "the Man of Sin," or "Anti-Christ," or Pope. The members of this one Reformed Church are called by Calvin the *Pii*, and by Knox "the Godly in Scotland," or "the Godly in England," or "the Godly in Europe." All taken together are summed up by both Reformers in the oft-repeated word, "Protestants."[3] Neither ever wrote "the Presbyterian Faith," nor indeed the word "Presbyterian" at all.

Assuming for the moment, against the Bible and all Christian antiquity, and the explicit and unvary-

[1] *Op. omn.* in *Corpus Reformatorum*; edd. Baum, Cunitz, and Reuss, Strassburg.

[2] *Op. omn.*, ed. David Laing.

[3] The word "Protestant" made its first appearance at Spires in 1529.

ing declarations of these two Reformers, that there are many Churches of Christ, the Presbyterian one, in its earliest form, may be defined to be a visible Christian Church believing in Jesus Christ, the God-Man, and ruled by Elders, clerical and lay, who are alleged to be of His institution, and who serve to introduce a visible differentiation between their subjects and those who profess allegiance to some other form of visible ecclesiastical rule.

On this point of visibility some Catholic critics of Calvin and Knox, and many Protestant admirers of these men, have done them a grave injustice. To ask if Christ founded a visible Church, was, for both Reformers, to ask if He ever came on earth, or spoke to or worked for men who really were men and not disembodied spirits. The one visible Church of Christ was as real to Calvin and Knox as the Church Invisible or "Church of the Elect."

II. Presbyterianism and Protestantism

Presbyterians hold the *Protestant*, not the *Presbyterian* faith, which, as we have seen, is a term unknown to the founders of the Kirk. What that faith embodied was never defined by either Reformer in Geneva or Scotland. Challenged by the Scottish Jesuit, Father Tyrie, Knox could not be induced to say more than that his creed contained "the principal things, without which the Kirk was not founded." The records of the Scots Parliament, extending from the first Reformed Parliament of 1560 down to the Act of Union in 1707, make no single reference to an imaginary Presbyterian *faith*. Everything turns on the Protestant faith, or "the true Protestant religion," with the all-important addition "under Presbyterian Church Government," this form of government being supposed, in all the legal documents which settled the religion of Scotland, to reproduce the substantial

features of the system under which the Church of Jesus Christ was ruled in apostolic and sub-apostolic times. Every Presbyterian is a Protestant, not because he holds any positive doctrine, but because he protests against "the errors of the Church of Rome"; but not every Protestant is a Presbyterian, because only a small section of Protestants accept the Presbyterian form of ecclesiastical government.

III. Presbyterianism and Calvinism

The Genevan State was Calvinistic, the Genevan Church was Calvinistic, and the two were one Calvin. Calvin was not only a brilliant scholar; he was at once the most daring and the most successful religious despot that Europe has seen since the dawn of Christianity. His surpassing genius for administration fashioned a triple organization — Church, State, and Municipality—which invaded every detail of religious, political, social, and domestic life. The cruel spirit of Calvinistic theology took possession of the two most religiously merciless bodies in modern history—the Huguenots of France and the Covenanters of Scotland. Deprived of every form of rational amusement, and stung to madness by the preaching of the terrors of the Calvinistic god of Pre-reprobation, a large number of the Reformed subjects of Calvin who called themselves "Liberty men" and were called by their master "Libertines," threw off the yoke in 1538 and ejected Calvin as an unbearable tyrant. Soon the Catholics resumed their old position of pre-eminence, and Geneva was declared to be in danger. Recalled to the rescue in 1541, Calvin employed his phenomenal powers to rout his enemies and re-establish his "Theocracy." He made relentless war on all Papists or Reformed brethren who dared to flout his great book, *Institutio Religionis Christianæ*, or had lapsed into what he was

wont to call "blasphemy" or "heresy." In little more than four years, sixty "Libertines" were condemned to death, of whom four were beheaded. Seventy-six were banished for ever. In 1546 Calvin began his inquisitorial watch on the theological fanatic, Michael Servetus, but did not run him down till 1553, when he was burnt to death.

Calvin laid the foundation-stone of Calvinism thus:—

> Some men are born devoted from the womb to certain death that His name may be glorified in their destruction.[1]

The teaching was assimilated by the English (not Scotch) congregation who sat under Knox at Geneva:—

> Of the lost sons of Adam, God hath ordained some as vessels of wrath to damnation, and hath chosen others as vessels of His mercy to be saved.[2]

Seventy-five years after the death of Knox, the Westminster Confession of Faith, which is still, in virtue of many Acts of Parliament, the official faith of the Established Kirk, enforces the same doctrine:—

> The rest of mankind God was pleased, according to the unsearchable counsel of His own will, whereby He extendeth mercy as He pleaseth for the glory of His sovereign power over His creatures, to pass by and to ordain them to dishonour and wrath for their sin, to the praise of His glorious justice.[3]

Other points of the Calvinism imported into Scotland from Geneva may be briefly enumerated:—[4] "Effectual Calling" is for the pre-destined to life, not for the pre-doomed to death. Men are saved not by any change wrought in them, but by the imputation of the merits of Christ. Merits of their own they have none. Justification by faith is the only mode of salvation. Without faith all works are sinful. All sins are equally heinous. Transubstantiation is a

[1] *Institutio*, iii. 23.
[2] Laing, *Works of Knox*, iv. 169.
[3] C. III.
[4] *Cf. Lutheranism* in this series, pp. 17 *seq.*

Romish fiction. The elements of bread and wine in the Eucharist remain unchanged, but the spiritual presence of Christ enters into the heart of the recipient who receives in faith. Calvin's labyrinthine speculations about free will were quite beyond the early Calvinists and Knoxites, and the popular summing up of the controversy was that God is the cause of sin, inasmuch as He withdraws His grace and thus allows the abandoned man to fall inevitably. It is startling to find in the "Genevan Confession of Faith," written by Calvin in Latin and translated by Knox, the admission that "Freewyll" is to be ranked among the abominations of Popery.[1] In the long run this conclusion was found to act unfavourably on Scottish morality. It is needless to add that both for Calvin and his favourite disciple, the Bible was the sole rule of faith. The "proof" that the Bible holds this place and yields intrinsic evidence of its own inspiration, is given in the Westminster Confession of Faith, and cannot be called more satisfactory than hundreds of similar attempts.[2]

Except in a few remote places in Scotland and among the least educated of Presbyterian ministers, Calvinism on its positive side is dead beyond the hope of resuscitation. Its peculiar doctrine of Predestination has borne its Dead Sea fruit of blasphemy and despair, and conscience, to-day, rejects it. In its negative aspect as anti-Catholicism, it is undying, like that which it assails. There is no more mystery about its longevity than there is in other Protestant sects which refuse to die in face of the ever-impending danger of a recrudescence of "Popery." Immortal youth is the incidental gift of the Church of the Ages to the aggressive negation known as Protestantism.

[1] Laing, *Works of Knox*, iv. 173.

[2] C. I. The logic of the following is more than dubious: "The infallible rule of interpretation of Scripture is the Scripture itself," *ibid.* No one accepts this unfortunate statement, yet it cannot be touched without Act of Parliament. *Infra.*

IV. Presbyterianism and Continuity

The "Continuity theory," so popular with a large section of Anglicans, has found no foothold among Presbyterians. Now and again it crops up, as in the General Assembly of 1902, only to disappear amid a ripple of ridicule. The Genevan gown for S. Columba is a ludicrous misfit. Far and away the most learned among Presbyterian writers on the early Church of the Scoti was Walter Goodall of the Advocates' Library, who flourished in the eighteenth century.

> Antiquity is a dangerous ground to those who have greater reason to boast of a successful Reform in times not long gone by, than of a very precise and solicitous imitation of models which were found to suit better with the habits of a primitive age.[1]

This is not only an interesting blend of Pragmatism and Patriotism; it is a triumph of historical honesty. This mode of justifying the Presbyterianism of a date not more remote than the middle of the sixteenth century, is of course fatal to the claim of Continuity with the Gospel as preached by S. Patrick to the Western and by S. Columba to the Eastern Scoti. Is it not strange, then, that the leaders of the National Zion of Presbyterian Scotland will persist in speaking of "our *historic* Church"? Their chronology begins in 1560, and all history before this year is to them as though it were not. For them there is no Patrick nor Columba, nor Columbanus, nor Margaret, nor Robert the Bruce, nor Boniface VIII., nor John XXII. Yet it was these two Popes who saved the independence of Scotland from the mailed fist of Edward I. of England, whom the old monkish chronicler Fordun (Bower) calls in scorn, "Langschenkis" (Longshanks).

What the Pope was to pre-Reformation Scotland is shown in the first sermon ever preached by John

[1] Goodall, "Dissertation," etc., prefixed to Keith's *Catalogue*, etc.

Knox. The subject was the Beasts of Daniel vii., and the person aimed at is called, with little regard to sex-distinctions, "the Man of Sin and the Whore of Babylon." His or her characteristics are thus developed:—

> [He is] the successor of S. Peter, the Vicar of Christ, the Head of the Kirk, most holy, most blessed, *that cannot err*, that may make right a wrong, and wrong of right, that of nothing may make something, and that has all verity in the shrine of his breast, yea, that has power of all, and none power of him. . . . . [Let none say] that he does wrong, although he draw ten thousand million of souls with himself to hell.[1]

The Presbyterian of to-day does not deny that the early apostles of Scotland introduced Christianity. He venerates Iona as its cradle, but he does not accept the Christianity that was preached from that island. It was quite different from the Christianity of the Reformation; but the latter Christianity suits the people of the latter Scotland, and that is sufficient warrant for its acceptance. The argument of Goodall has been reproduced at great length, and with many illustrations, as recently as the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, May 1909, by the Moderator, the Rev. Dr. Robertson, and seems to have given satisfaction to his hearers.[2]

To be scrupulously fair to the post-Reformation history of Presbyterianism, I take the following summary of the chief events of 1560–1874 from the *Church Defence Handbook*, compiled by the distinguished advocate, Sheriff Johnston, now Procurator of the Church of Scotland. The notes are my own.

Popery abolished[3]	1560
Protestantism confirmed by Parliament .	1567

[1] Knox, *Historie of the Reformatioun in Scotland*, pp. 68 *seq.*; folio ed., Edinburgh, 1732. I modernize the spelling.

[2] See section ix., *infra*.

[3] By the illegal Parliament, repudiated by Queen Mary Stuart, then in France.

Presbyterianism ratified by Parliament	1592
Episcopal Government re-introduced [1]	1606–1610
Presbytery restored [2]	1638
National Covenant [3]	1638
Solemn League and Covenant [4]	1643
Episcopal Government restored [5]	1662
Revolution Settlement. Presbytery finally restored [6]	1690
Treaty of Union [7]	1707
Patronage restored [8]	1712
First Secession (Erskine) [9]	1733
Second Secession (Gillespie)	1752
Veto Act [10]	1834
Disruption [11]	1843
Patronage abolished [12]	1874

A summary like this does not look like a history of the Primitive Catholic Church of Scotland. Rather it is that of Erastianism, sometimes rampant and sometimes lying low, but always there.

The break in Continuity is much more marked in Scotland than in England, because of the dead set made in the former against Episcopacy as the buttress of Catholicity. The open confession that there is such a break is made, as a rule, with genuine frankness by the Presbyterian, but his example is too often lost on his Anglican brother. Here indeed

[1] By James VI. and I. and his Council.
[2] By Charles I. and Parliament.
[3] The gross Erastianism of the General Assembly which approved this Covenant is seen in its session 23, August 30, 1639.
[4] Ratified by Charles I. and Parliament, July 15, 1644.
[5] By Charles II. and Parliament.
[6] By King William and Parliament.
[7] By Act of Parliament.
[8] By Act of Parliament.
[9] *Infra.*
[10] The Kirk rose in desperation against its State-partner and claimed the right of veto on ministerial appointments. The State struck back. The liberty finally won was the *concession* of a wise and tolerant State.
[11] *Infra.*
[12] By the State.

"the auld enemie" of Scotland has much to learn. On the other hand, the abuse above referred to of the word "historic" in connection with the Knoxian Kirk of 1560, detracts from the fulness and candour of the Scottish avowal of *Discontinuity*.

V. Presbyterianism and "the Civil Magistrate"

"Establishment was the fundamental principle of the Reformation. . . . Establishment was the principle that put an end to the jurisdiction of Rome . . . and no other principle could have done so."[1]

A. *The Civil Magistrate in the Civil War*

Without the aid of English gold, the Presbyterian Reformation in Scotland could not have been carried, as it was, to a triumphant issue. Knox himself admits that the hands of the Scottish lords, whose political adviser he was, were "liberally anointed" by their Tudor tempter, Henry VIII. The plan of the English King was to secure the person of the infant Queen Mary Stuart,[2] marry her to his son and annex Scotland to England. Failing in his attempt to persuade his nephew James V. of Scotland[3] to replenish his exchequer by the Tudor method of seizing the revenues and treasures of the religious houses, he turned his attention to the nobility of Scotland, who readily became what the English ambassador, Sadler, calls them, "the Pensioners of England." The Scottish Reformation unquestionably took its rise in highly treasonable intercourse with a foreign power that played on Scottish greed. The

[1] Dr Gairdner in *The Guardian*, May 5, 1909.

[2] The spelling of this royal name is certainly "Stewart," but Mary never used any form but the French "Stuart."

[3] Son of Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scotland, sister of Henry VIII. In private life and in her hatred of Scotland this woman was simply Henry VIII. in petticoats.

principles of the English Reformation flowed into the neighbouring country on a stream of gold.

This shameful subservience to an English paymaster made the government of Mary of Guise, the mother of Mary Queen of Scots, impossible. On the arrival of Knox on May 2, 1559, the Civil War, which was the real herald of the Reformation, broke out against the Queen Regent, and hastened her death. On her dying bed in Edinburgh Castle, where she was immured by her rebel subjects, she sent for them and forgave them all, exhorting them to sever all political connection with the enemies of their country, and to be loyal to her child when she came over from France to wear the Scottish crown. The "Assured Lords,"[1] or "Lords of the Congregation of Christ Jesus," or "Lords of Secreit Counsail"[2] all promised and all foreswore themselves.[3] Mary Stuart, the girl-widow of nineteen summers, when she landed at Leith on Aug. 19, 1561, fondly thought she came to rule. She never had the chance. Just a year before her coming, the siege of Leith, successfully conducted by the money and army of Queen Elizabeth, had sealed her mother's doom and her own. The real arbiters of the religious destinies of Scotland were now the Privy Council.

Such is the genesis of the Civil Magistrate in the religious affairs of Scotland. Her rebel nobility and gentry grovelled low before Elizabeth before they rose up in the illegal Parliament of 1560 to smite the Pope, abolish the Mass, and convert the Bill of the Knoxian Confession of Faith into an Act applicable to the whole nation. Thus Scotland awoke to find herself Presbyterianized by Parliament.

[1] *i.e.* "assured" to England.

[2] Privy Council. These three designations are used in contemporary documents.

[3] The pathetic scene at the deathbed is described in substantially the same words by contemporary authors like Leslie, Hollinshed, and even the foul-mouthed Reformer, George Buchanan. Knox's remarks on it are too disgusting to reproduce.

B. *The Civil Magistrate in the School.*

It has been constantly said that Knox and his allies of the Anglo-Scottish or Anglophile party were the originators of a system of popular education which pervaded every parish in Scotland. The scheme, which is to be found in Knox's *First Book of Discipline*, never left the pages on which it was written. The whole educational work of the early Presbytery consisted in purging the schools and universities of "idolatrous regents" (masters). As late as 1567 the clearance was not quite effected, and when the work was done, the Scots Parliament of 1598, composed of Reformers only, raised such a wail over the educational desolation of the land that it is clear that the "idolaters" had had no successors. There is not a shred of evidence to show that the heads of the new Kirk, least of all Knox, contributed as much as a "bawbee" to the erection of a single school.[1] All their energies were spent on the demolition of the churches and colleges of the old religion. Not until the Revolution Settlement of 1690 was there anything like a national system of education in Presbyterian Scotland. During the long interval, 1560–1690, Scotland was, in the matter of schools, at the very lowest rung of the educational ladder of Europe. During the Civil War that preluded the Reformation, Glasgow University was closed, and Knox had the hardihood to propose that the once flourishing Papal Universities of Glasgow, St. Andrews, and Aberdeen should be "erected."[2] The conclusion of Janssen-

[1] Yet Knox as minister of Edinburgh was well paid by the Reformed Town Council, *Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*, 1560.

[2] *First Book of Discipline.* The real founder, according to the Protestant Bishop Keith, of the so-called Protestant University of Edinburgh, was the Catholic Bishop of Orkney, Robert Reid (d. 1558). Thus all the Universities of Presbyterian Scotland are Catholic in their foundation.

Pastor that the Reformation in Germany meant the ruin both of religious and secular education in that country, can be verified with regard to Scotland by a mass of evidence as conclusive as any which these scholars have brought to light. Thus Reformed Scotland falls into line with England and the other Reformed nations, and enters like them into a zone of darkness from which, despite the vigorous efforts of modern times, it has not quite emerged. The Civil Magistrate who, after the suppression of Popery, took charge of the educational interests of Scotland, failed here, perhaps more signally than in any country which embraced Reform.

C. *The Civil Magistrate in Parliament and the Law Courts*

The head of the Church of England is the Sovereign, advised by his Privy Council; the head of the Church of Scotland, according to Scottish jurists, is Parliament. In strict accuracy, the King is as much the head of one Established religion as of the other; but as the Kirk introduced by Knox was the creation of a Parliament which acted in defiance of its lawful Sovereign, the headship of the Church has come to be regarded as vested in the Estates of the realm, and to be in some mysterious way independent of the Crown. British law knows nothing of this distinction. The head of the General Assembly to this day is the Sovereign of the United Kingdom, and it is he (or she), and not the Imperial Parliament, who appoints the Lord High Commissioner to preside at the deliberations of the assembled brethren. The Presbyterian Kirk, founded in 1560, is as much a statutory creation as its Anglican sister. Not a syllable of its parliamentary creed can be changed except by Act of the Parliament which imposed it originally. It is for the State-creator to say what amount of liberty

it allows its Church-creature. This principle was affirmed with a vast display of historical and legal erudition by the Supreme Court of Appeal in the House of Lords in the famous Auchterarder case of 1838. As recently as 1905 Mr Balfour's Government allowed a well-defined measure of freedom to the Established Kirk, anent the "Formula of Subscription" to the official creed, but the statute does not permit any tampering with the parliamentary document in which that creed is embodied. That "spiritual supremacy" is enjoyed by the Establishment is not denied, but this very independence in matters purely ecclesiastical is itself the bounteous grant of the Civil Law. In all cases of doubt, the *supremer* of the two "supreme authorities" is the Civil and not the Ecclesiastical partner. Neither is it denied that a section of Presbyterians lay clamorous and sometimes impassioned claim to "spiritual independence," but the facts of history are too strong for them. The stream does not rise above its source, nor the Scottish Kirk above the civil tribunal to which it owes its life. Tether is given by the creative state, with more or less liberality, but every well-informed kirkman knows that there is always a strong hand that can pull in or pay out at the other end of the rope.

D. *The Civil Magistrate in the Church Courts*

This section is really included in the foregoing. At every meeting of the "Supreme Court of the Church," the Lord High Commissioner, the representative of the civil power, sits high above the Moderator. The Royal Arms emblazoned behind the throne of the former are far more conspicuous than the Bible which lies on the humble desk of the latter. Both "heads" open and close the Assembly, but always in the legal order of headship, the Civil Magistrate first, the Ecclesiastical Chairman second; the one in the name

of the Sovereign, the other "in the name of the One Divine Head of the Church." Even in this painful scenic display, the higher aspirations for spiritual liberty will out. In 1908, the Moderator, the late Rev. Dr. Marshall, assured "the fathers and brethren" that he "would take no orders" from anyone except the One Lord of all. Lord Kinnaird, the High Commissioner, heard this innocent form of constructive treason unmoved. The State knows how to husband its giant strength. A breach of the law must go far beyond words before the State will adopt the ungenerous attitude of buttoning up its pockets. It is mainly because of his power over the purse that the Civil Magistrate has assumed such colossal proportions in the Presbyterian Church. St. Paul knew him well, enforced obedience to him in all that was not sin, but had no particular liking for him. A help or a hindrance he might be to the early Christians, but a Grand Almoner never. Yet Presbyterianism, if not "primitive," is nothing.

VI. The Triple Kirk and its One Faith

A. *The First Triple Split*, 1843

The patrimony of the ancient religion ousted by Presbyterianism was, on parliamentary and legal paper, divided as follows:—One-third to the Reformed Crown, one-third to the Reformed nobility and gentry, one-third to the Reformed ministers. The last, the least rapacious of the three, fared the worst. The pittance finally awarded them by the civil spoilers has ever been kept in the closed fist of the Establishment. A considerable body of Bible-Christians, led by Erskine, noted with dismay the fast-growing Erastianism of the Presbyterian mother, the arrogant pretensions of the patronage party, and the rapid

declension of the right of popular election of ministers. Loudly and consistently, from that day to this, these champions of "Voluntaryism" pronounced State-endowments unscriptural and unjust, and about the year 1733, under the name of United Presbyterians (U.P.'s), declared war on the Establishment principle.

The tremendous splitting force of that principle was again to make itself felt. Lay patronage was seen by Dr. Chalmers to be striking at the very roots of the spirituality of the Church. There was nothing for the upholders of the pure Gospel but to flee the abominations of Babylon and take to what the Disruptionists called "the wilderness."[1]

Unlike the U.P.'s, the Disruption Kirk of Chalmers seceded, not cursing, but blessing the Establishment as a principle, and proclaiming in their flight in 1843, that they should by rights have carried with them, in the interests of "the Crown Rights of Christ," all the endowments held by the ungodly whose rank Erastianism had driven them out. Up to 1900, a trinity of Kirks, all professing to hold the same Protestant faith, and all subject to the same Presbyterian form of government, were the main occupiers of the religious area of Scotland—the Established Kirk, the United Presbyterians, and the Free Church of Scotland, popularly known as the Church of the Disruption. The wedge that cleft them was Establishment.

B. *The Second Triple Split*, 1900

It began with a dual alliance, the founder of which was the late Principal Rainy, the most consummate ecclesiastical diplomatist that Presbyterianism has ever produced. The encroachments of the civil power

[1] The sacrifice made was a great one, but the "wilderness" entered was anything but comfortless.

and the loss of spiritual freedom were the constant theme of his discourses. As a member of the Disruption Church he boldly maintained that he adhered to the past of Dr. Chalmers, and was faithful to the Establishment principle, while his opponents found it easy to prove from his multitudinous utterances that he was a U.P. at heart and bent on betraying his followers to the leaders in the Voluntary camp. This indefatigable worker and born commander pursued his way to the goal relentlessly; and the Union between the United Presbyterian and the great bulk of the Free Church of Scotland was consummated in the Waverley Market, Edinburgh, October 31, 1900. The former brethren of Principal Rainy, not content with complaining of the "great betrayal," threatened the new coalition, known as the United Free Church, with legal action, on the ground that some millions of pounds, destined for the Free Church of Chalmers, had been carried over by the Unionists to an organization which knew not Chalmers and repudiated his fundamental principle of Establishment for the meretricious charms of Voluntaryism.

The story of the long and weary struggle that followed is too recent to dwell upon. Briefly, the faithful minority who had been left denuded by the army of seceders, tried a fall with the triumphant hosts of Principal Rainy, and were badly worsted before the Edinburgh Court of Session. Nothing daunted, they carried an appeal to the House of Lords. Owing to the death of Lord Shand, the case was reheard at Westminster, and judgement was given on August 1, 1904. Everything turned on the Law of Trusts and its application to a religious body whose desire for a constitutional revolution was evidenced by the abandonment of the Establishment as a principle and the acceptance of its opposite. The Lord Chancellor (Lord Halsbury) in his Opinion laid it down that

the identity of a religious community described as a church must consist in the unity of its doctrines.[1]

On this fundamental issue of liberty to change principles like clothes, the English judges parted company with their learned brethren in Scotland, and the Edinburgh judgement was reversed. It was a glorious victory for the appellants, or "Wee Frees," as they were called, and to the United Frees a blow which, but for the genius and courage of Principal Rainy, would have caused their financial death. Again the Civil Magistrate appeared in all his glory on the legal battlefield of Presbyterianism. The United Free Church strove with might and main against the finding of the Supreme Court at Westminster, and clamoured for a Relief Bill to help it to bear the intolerable strain of disgorging the funds which it had thought to be its own, and returning them to a remnant which it had affected to despise. Its passionate remonstrances took effect on the Legislature. The Churches (Scotland) Act, 1905, was passed. The victorious little party to which the House of Lords had awarded the millions in dispute was, in its turn, vanquished by the Royal Commission appointed under the Act to "allocate" churches and funds, and Presbyterian Scotland has ever since been the theatre of a fraternal war, which bids fair to substitute for Christian charity the reign of an undying feud.

One mistake on a question of fact was made by the House of Lords. Their Lordships were not only satisfied with the proofs that the United Frees had discarded their original constitution, but assumed that the minority who appealed against the newly created Church were faithful to the old parliamentary Confession of Faith. It is notorious that they are not. The Free Church of Scotland has long since broken

[1] *Free Church of Scotland Appeals*, Official Report, ed. Orr, p. 563.

with the Calvinism embedded in that document, and proclaimed the "Free Gospel," which means, when interpreted, the hope of salvation even for the most abandoned sinner—and this is Arminianism or anti-Calvinism.

The triple Kirk of Presbyterian Scotland is now composed of the Established Church, the United Free Church, with about an equal number of members and adherents between them, and, lastly, the feeble body, first enriched and then stripped by law, known as the Free Church of Scotland. The splitting wedge is, as it was before, Establishment.

As to the one faith which is supposed to be shared by all three, it is difficult to formulate it, except on the lines of the illustrious founder of the now flourishing United Frees. The theology of Principal Rainy can be put in a nutshell. He and his Church held two doctrines and no more—(1) Christ is our only Head; (2) the Bible is our only Guide.

How the two can coexist is anything but plain. Christ, the only Head, has most certainly not declared that the Bible is the only guide of His Church; while the Bible is unmistakeably clear in its statement that Christ has been pleased to appoint a visible human head who is no less surely over His Church than he is under the Lord of all. These two propositions, taken singly or together—and it is impossible to discover a third—are not an epitome of historic Christianity, but its negation.

As a matter of fact, the ideas current among modern Presbyterians regarding the Divinity of Jesus Christ and the inspiration of the Bible are getting looser every day and drifting faster in the direction of rank Rationalism. Presbyterian professors who have in their hands the moulding of the ministry, use their undoubted powers in the cause of the Higher Criticism and for the extirpation or enfeeblement of the Christianity of the country. The late Professor

A. B. Bruce writes in the *Encyclopedia Biblica*, and has never been censured for the writing:—

> Whether miraculous or not, whether the works of a mere man or of one who is a man and more, the words of Jesus concerning the future show limitation of vision. In other directions, we may discover that He was the child of His time and people.[1]

In Presbyterian Scotland there are many good Christians, but Presbyterian Scotland is seeing the disruption of its national Christian faith as clearly as Protestant England can see its own.

VII. The Presbyterian Form of Government

Even though the Protestant faith of Presbyterianism is being dissipated into gaseous matter, it must not be thought that Presbyterianism is doomed. Survive it does and must, as long as that faith, such as it is, is enclosed in the strong national retort of the Presbyterian form of government. Presbyterianism is democracy administering to itself religious rule. There are two factors deep-seated in human nature—the love of autonomy and the need of religion. Presbyterianism gives play to both. Disestablishment looms large on the legal horizon—the only horizon that Presbyterians have been taught to look to—but even when it comes, as it is surely coming, it will not mean the abolition of a form of rule, the chief merit of which in popular estimation is, that it has dismounted all priestly castes and uplifted the masses to the religious saddle.

For unregenerate human nature it is nothing short of delightful to assume the functions of a judge, and to be called in to adjudicate on the spiritual, theological, and oratorical acquirements of the impecunious minister or nervous probationer who figures in the preaching tournament which precedes a congregational "call."

[1] Art. "Jesus," p. 2454.

The man is not sent to a parish by a higher authority, episcopal or otherwise. He is produced before the Kirk-Session, put through his paces, scrutinized in face and form and manner, his points, especially his age, investigated, his testimonials scanned, his pedigree criticized, his adventures in other livings detailed, his merits and failings dissected, and a gossiping feast held over his *disjecta membra*. The Elders, with their wives and daughters as domestic assessors, are happy in the process, but the victim who passes through the mill of popular election is, when rejected, miserable, and, when successful, feels himself degraded by an honour thus conferred. The "imposition of hands," which he underwent when ordained without Orders, and endowed with no "Gift,"[1] was unsatisfying, but it spared him the pang of humiliation which he feels in the wire-pulling, electioneering devices and rhetorical tricks which are the almost necessary concomitants of a pulpit competition where the judges are too often uncultured and intolerant, and the prizes, bread, butter and manse. Popular election on Presbyterian lines does not read like a chapter in the early records of the Christianity of Christ.

The whole system of Presbyterian government can be summed up in a sentence which, however unwieldy, is perfectly clear.

It is a system which subjects the parochial Church to the Kirk-Session, composed of a teaching Elder (a Minister) and Ruling Elders (laymen proper); which subjects the said Kirk-Session to a Presbytery com-

[1] "I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the *gift of God* which is in thee through the laying on of my hands" (2 Tim. i. 6). Both Calvin and Knox explicitly reject the imposition of hands. It is in the Bible, but Calvin thought it superstitious, and Knox "papistical" to the verge of idolatry. Knox's definition of "idolatrous" is wavering and curious. "What is not in the Bible is idolatrous" (*First Book of Discipline*). The present Presbyterian practice of imposing hands is quite against the legislation of the founders of the Kirk. *Cf.* Lecture xxii. 10, 30.

posed of Parish Ministers and one lay-Elder from each congregation in the Presbyteral area; which subjects the said Presbytery to a Synod, composed of all the Presbyteries within Synodal bounds; which finally subjects the said Synod to a General Assembly or Supreme Church Court, presided over by a Chairman-Moderator, meeting annually (as a rule), and composed of Ministers and lay-Elders, delegated by Presbyteries within the ecclesiastical confines of the Presbyterian nation; the said Assembly (in the case of the Church by law established) to be convoked with the sanction of the State; the said State to be represented by the Lord High Commissioner; the said Commissioner to be appointed by the head of Church and State—to wit, the reigning Sovereign of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

All these four Courts of

Presbyterian Church government, that is to say, the government of the Church by Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, Provincial Synods, and General Assemblies,[1]

are established, ratified, and confirmed by Act of Parliament, June 7, 1690.[2]

Hence Presbyterian Government is as statutory for Scotland as the Confession of Faith finally imposed by the same Parliament.[3] Compared to these parliamentary shackles, the fetters of the government of the Catholic Church are as thistledown to iron chains.

Presbyterian biographers of Knox are unwilling to give him the credit of being the author of the Presbyterian Courts, forgetting that the Kirk-Session of St. Andrews was not only founded by the Reformer, but had him for its first president.[4] Not only this, but

[1] *Acts Parl. Scot.*, tom. ix., p. 113. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

[4] The incredible activity of this tribunal can best be judged by the *Liber Enormium Delictorum Correctorum*, etc., printed in the *Maitland Miscellany*, iii. The number of renegade priests who appeared before this court to revile the Pope and abjure the old religion is appalling;

the Moderator of the first General Assembly held in Edinburgh in 1560 was Knox himself.[1] Thus the unit of Presbyterian government, as well as its highest development, are both due to the administrative capacity of the same man. Fifteen years after his death, that is, in 1587, Andrew Melville filled in the missing link of the Presbyteral Court.

To the student of Christian antiquity it will come as a surprise to be told that not once in the course of his voluminous writings does Knox think it necessary to try to prove the Scriptural basis of the Presbyterian form of government. For men who believed, like Calvin and Knox, that "the religion of Protestants is the Bible and the Bible only,"[2] this omission is remarkable.

This is not the place to discuss the meaning of *Presbyter* to the early Christians, nor the relations between the *Super-Presbyter* (Bishop), the *Presbyter* (Priest), and the *Sub-Presbyter* (Deacon), nor the connection of each with the central mystery of the Holy Eucharist, nor the absolute necessity of excluding the then Judaistic word "priest" from the early Christian vocabulary. Enough to say that no modern scholar, Catholic or Rationalist, can find Presbyterianism in the Gospel or Acts of the Apostles or Epistles of St. Paul. On this point Calvin is almost as reticent as Knox, and, when he speaks, throws all sane exegesis to the winds.

the matrimonial cases in which they and others figured are disgusting. The first divorce ever granted in Scotland is dated St. Andrews, July 25, 1560. No statute has ever legalized divorce in this country. Its divorce law is wholly the work of Knox (Lord Fraser, *Man and Wife*). Knox signalized himself by another deed done in St. Andrews, and never mentioned by any of his biographers, not even Mr. Lang. In 1572, the year of his death, he presided and preached at the burning of a witch in the market square, and thus inaugurated the atrocities of the Kirk against this unhappy class. The eye-witnesses of the execution were Richard Bannatyne and James Melville, the one the secretary, the other the disciple of Knox.

[1] *Book of the Universall Kirk*, ann. 1560. [2] Chillingworth.

As to my indiscriminate use of "Bishops" and "Presbyters" and "Pastors" and "Ministers" engaged in ruling churches, this I have done, following the practice of the Scripture, which employs these terms promiscuously (*confundit*).[1]

The faith of many Presbyterians is now non-Biblical or anti-Biblical, and their government is admittedly not a reproduction of the Church of the New Testament. And yet, for the reasons given, it endures and succeeds in keeping the Old Religion out.

VIII. Three Agenda Papers

The constantly recurring meetings of the Presbyterian "Courts" suggest the idea that Christianity in Scotland excites a large measure of public interest, and enters like a leaven into the life of the nation. The following papers, taken at random from the agenda for one day's sitting of the three General Assemblies of 1909, will serve to show that the great problems of faith and morality are not the staple of the business transacted by the brethren in council assembled.

A. Church of Scotland

(*a*) *Forenoon*

1. Report of Committee on Education for the Ministry.

2. Overture, Presbytery of Dingwall, as to education prior to entering on Divinity Course.

3. Report of Committee on Supplementary Orphan Fund.

(*b*) *Noon*

4. Appeals from Synod of Glasgow and Ayr in the Ayr case.

[1] *Op. om.*, tom ix., p. 283, Lyons.

(*c*) *Evening Sederunt at* 9 P.M.

5. Report of Committee on formation of a Pension Fund.
6. Report of Committee on Aged and Infirm Ministers' Fund.
7. Overture, Presbytery of Selkirk as to grants in connection with Ann.

B. UNITED FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

(*a*) *Forenoon*

1. Report of Presbyterian Hymnal Trustees.
2. Report of Committee on Reformers' Gift.
3. Report of Committee on Publication and Records.
4. Report of Praise Committee.
5. World's Missionary Conference. Deputation.
6. Report of Committee on Army and Navy Chaplains.
7. Report of Finance Committee, including XIVA Report of Special Committee on Administration of Home Work and XXII. Report of Special Committee anent question of Allocation to Livingstonia Mission of Share of Legacies to Foreign Missions.
8. Statement anent legacy from estate of Rev. J. C. Meiklejohn.

(*b*) *Order of the Day at* 2 P.M.

9. Overture and motions anent Composition of Committees.

(*c*) *Evening*

10. Report of Colonial Committee, with Deputies.
11. Report of Continental Committee, with Deputies.

C. FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

(*a*) *Forenoon*

1. Report of Committee on the Training of the Ministry.
2. Petition from Mr Samuel MacIver.
3. Report of Trustees on Widows' and Orphans' Fund.
4. Report of General Trustees.
5. Report of Custodier of Titles.
6. Application for Sale of Property.

(*b*) *Evening*

8. Report of Committee on Religious Morals and Temperance.

IX. The Newest "Proof" of the Truth of Presbyterianism

"We must stand somewhere; we stand here," are the words of the late Principal Tulloch. It is not the will to stand that is wanting in these days of Presbyterian unrest; it is the ground to stand upon.

A somewhat desperate attempt to secure a foothold on a slippery incline was made as recently as the General Assembly of May 1909 by the Moderator of the Church of Scotland. The longing for proofs of the truth of "the Presbyterian form of Christianity" is natural in those who have discarded the old method of Christian evidences, and decline to look back any farther than an eventful day in the August of 1560 when an overwhelming majority in the Scots Parliament voted for Knox and Presbyterianism. The thirst for religious proofs is then, and then only, insatiable when proofs are lacking.

The Rev. Dr. Robertson remarked in his closing

address to the Assembly that he was curious to learn why the late Dean Church did not go over to the Catholic Church with Newman. The Dean's answer, summarized by Dr. Robertson, was, that he stayed where he was because of

the resolute and serious appeal to reality and experience as well as to history,[1] to the substantial characteristics of the traditional[2] and actually existing English Church, shown, not on paper but in work, and along with this, an attempt to put in a fair and just light the comparative excellences and defects of other parts of Christendom. The English Church is after all as well worth living in and dying for as any other. We have our Sparta, a noble if a rough and incomplete one. Patiently to do our best for it is better than leaving it to its fate[3] in obedience to signs and reasonings which the heat of strife may well make delusive.

The Rev. Moderator seizes on this caricature of Christian reasoning and applies it to Presbyterianism, thus :—

> "This appeal to experience and history[4] on the "ground of work done and influence exerted, "can, I think, be used with conclusiveness in "regard to our Scottish Church. When we take "a retrospect of the history of Scotland since the "Reformation[5] we find that the Church has been "identified with the national life even more "closely than has been the case in England. It "took, we may say without immodesty, a deeper "hold of the interests and affections of the "people; the history of the nation and the "history of the Church being in many periods

[1] "To be deep in history is to cease to be a Protestant." Newman, *Essay on Development.*

[2] The value of ecclesiastical tradition depends very largely on the age of the ecclesiastical body. Anglicanism is a little less youthful than Presbyterianism.

[3] The doctrine of the indefectibility of the Church founded by our Lord is here thrown overboard.

[4] Dean Church can hardly be said to appeal to "history."

[5] The time-limit is significant. *Supra.*

"practically one.[1] But without venturing to "claim that the record was free of serious faults, "or that the Scottish character was without "defects, both that record and that character 'on "comparison,' as Dean Church says, 'with the "excellences and defects of other parts of "Christendom,' sustain us in loyalty to our "Church. The Church of Scotland is admitted "by all men to have had a great share in making "Scotsmen what they have been;[2] and it is an "English historian who has said, 'You are Scots; "and if we except the Athenians and the Jews, "no people so few in number have scored so "deep a mark in the world's history as you have "done.' If this be thought too high praise, there "is still a claim which we may make, which "is not a small one, if it be a note of the "true Church that to the poor the Gospel is "preached. It may be claimed for the Church of "Scotland that it has produced the highest type "of peasant piety, highest for its union of devout-"ness, intelligence, dignity, self-respect, that the "world has ever known.[3] Tried by its work, by "its influence on national history and national "character, by the roll of great Christian men it "has produced and the honourable recognition "it has received in the Christian world, our "Church is vindicated to us *as Scotsmen*; and

[1] This is only too true, but it is not a fitting subject for a Christian boast. St. Paul would hear with horror of the oneness of the "saints" with the "world."

[2] With this past tense, compare a passage in Mr. Taylor Innes' *Law of Creeds in Scotland*, where the author refers to "the intense conservatism of the Scottish character and the infinite respect it *has had* for creed" (italics our own). That respect is most certainly a thing of the past.

[3] In his haste to compliment his country, the Moderator puts into the mouth of "the world" a verdict which it has never given. The omission of many distinctively Christian virtues in the inventory of the characteristics of the Scottish peasant is painfully conspicuous.

"we are well content to spend our lives in its "service. 'We have *our* Sparta, a noble if a "rough and incomplete one.'"

Throughout this little study I have allowed only Presbyterian authorities to speak. This latest utterance of the highest of the office-bearers of the State Church is equivalent to a declaration that National Suitableness is the supreme test of the Christian Revelation. A glance at the above picture will show that modern Presbyterianism is not a religion.[1] It is Scottish nationalism in the clothes of religion.

Next after the abominations of Gentile license, what the first preachers of the universal Gospel of the Grace of God had most reason to fear, was the narrowness of the nationalistic spirit, wheresoever found, in the shifty Celts of Galatia, or the sturdy warriors of Scythia, or the cultured Greek or the overbearing citizen of Imperial Rome. The long conflict between Christianity and Judaism was not that of one religion pitted against another. It was, in its inner nature, a struggle between a world-wide Catholic faith and a system which wore a religious garb outside, but had shrunk within to the smallness of a nationalism. The megalomania of Nationalism is the death of Christianity.

In the divine plan, the national spirit of Israel was undoubtedly meant to be the great natural buttress of the supernatural Faith which clung to the Old Testament and to the promises made to the Chosen People. Unfortunately this happy relationship was broken; and it was inordinate nationalism which wrecked the scheme. The preachers of the Gospel of Jesus Christ found themselves up against the impregnable wall of a Jewish nationalism, which had its own ideas about the material greatness and worldly prospects of its race, and saw

[1] "Protestantism in Ireland is not a religion." G. B. Shaw.

that these ideas could not be verified in the Man whom the Christians proclaimed to be the Saviour of the world. The national perquisite of an earthly Messiah was said to be stolen from the privileged nation and bestowed on the outer masses of men. The fate of the Apostles in this war with a paltry "ism" was not a rout, but it certainly was not a victory.

The old enemy of the extra-nationalistic Catholic Church is ever appearing on the scene. Gallicanism was a form of nationalism that once bade fair to oust the Catholic Faith from France. "Americanism" was an offshoot of the same home-grown and destructive plant. Anglicanism is a system that could not live a day under the pounding it is ever receiving from philosophical and historical criticism, but for the strong injection of nationalism, which, along with the Establishment, provides all the phenomena of galvanic action. "Hibernianism," in alliance with the Faith, is a tower of strength to the latter; divorced from that Faith, it is safe to predict that it would raise a religious storm that would be no bad imitation of the Scottish Reformation. To this day tribalism and caste, which are only diminutives of nationalism, effectually block the Gospel in heathen lands.

It has yet to be proved that *Scoticanism*,[1] which is now authoritatively declared to be the religion of Scotland, is an exception to what looks like the universal rule, that when a nation, either under the Old or the New Covenant, fashions to its own image and likeness a religious system, that system, whatever its worldly merits may be, and however much it may

[1] Formed from the uncouth adjective *Scoticanus*, which is based on analogy with *Anglicanus*, and was largely used by the Roman Chancellery in its negotiations with Scotland. *Cf.* Theiner. The mediæval Popes spoke of *Ecclesia Scoticana, Sedi Apostolicæ, nullo medio, subjecta.* This was a side-thrust at the pretensions of England to represent Scotland at Rome. Henry VIII. made the claim unblushingly.

ameliorate and prosper national undertakings, is one of the worst foes of the God of Israel and of the Christianity of Christ and His Apostles.

There are three main reasons why the Catholic Church, if she contemplates a campaign for the reconquest of Scotland to the Christian Faith, may be excused for not feeling sanguine: (1) the strength of the Nationalism which is the popular substitute for the Faith; (2) the torrent of misrepresentation which is poured on the oldest of all the "Auld Kirks" (3) the flight from the light of historical research.

. . . . . .

The name of Knox has often occurred in these pages. It may be not without interest to read the famous comments of Carlyle upon this typical "priest-hero."

"In the history of Scotland too, I can find properly but one epoch: we may say, it contains nothing of world-interest at all but this Reformation by Knox. A poor barren country, full of continual broils, dissensions, massacrings; a people in the last state of rudeness and destitution, little better perhaps [adds Carlyle, allowing us, by this comparison, to gauge with singular accuracy the worth of his critical faculty] than Ireland at this day. . . . It is a country as yet without a soul: nothing developed in it but what is rude, external, and semi-animal. And now, at the Reformation, the internal life is kindled, as it were, under the ribs of this outward material death. . . . This that Knox did for his Nation, I say, we may really call a resurrection as from death. It was not a smooth business; but it was welcome surely, and cheap at that price, had it been far rougher. . . . The people began to *live*. . . . Scotch Literature and Thought, Scotch Industry; James Watt, David Hume, Walter Scott, Robert Burns: I find Knox and the Reformation acting in the heart's core of every one of these persons and phenomena; I find that without the Reformation they would not have been. Or what of Scotland? The Puritanism of Scotland became that of England, of New England. A tumult in the High Church of Edinburgh spread into a universal battle and struggle over all these realms;—there came out, after fifty years' struggling, what we call the '*Glorious* Revolution,' a *Habeas Corpus* Act, Free Parliaments, and much else!"—*Lectures on Heroes*, Lecture iv.

Carlyle diagnoses in the national hero the essential virtue of *sincerity*: "A good honest intellectual talent, no transcen-

dent one;—a narrow, inconsiderable man, as compared with Luther: but in heartfelt instinctive adherence to Truth, in *sincerity*, as we say, he has no superior. . . . 'He lies there,' said the Earl of Morton at his grave, 'who never feared the face of man.'" (*Ib.*)

It is possible that just as historical criticism is recasting the whole "Luther-legend," and setting the great German in a light far less heroic than that in which he has been so long portrayed, so a more subtle, because more dispassionate, psychology may discover in Knox nobler and more amiable elements than the analysis of his character has hitherto afforded, or may, at least, emphasize more definitely than of old the circumstances which go to extenuate his enormities. And as in the account of *Lutheranism* (Lecture xxviii. in this series, *cf.* p. 32), so here must it be remembered that Christian life and spirit survive in the hearts of men with a tenacity and vigour far beyond what the official character of their sect, or the historical genesis of their creed, or the behaviour and theories of their founders and prominent personages might lead us to expect. There is still to be found in the wild and beautiful northland a fervour of prayer and a clear-eyed faith, and a tenderness below the austere verbiage, which are in direct descent from those old days when all the country shared the Faith which still survives upon misty Highland moors, and in the Hebrides where the Atlantic thunders.[1]—ED.

[1] See the indescribably delicate and spiritual poetry of these people—"in the last stage of rudeness and destitution"—in, *e.g.*, *Carmina Gadelica*, Hymns and Incantations . . . orally collected in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and translated into English by Alexander Carmichael: Edinburgh, 1900. Specimens of these lovely poems may be found in Mr. Britten's article on the book in *The Month*, vol. xcvii., April 1901, p. 347.

On John Knox, see *The Works of John Knox*, ed. David Laing, 6 vols.: Edinburgh, 1846-64. M'Crie, *The Life of John Knox*, ed. 7, 1855. Carlyle, *Essay on the Portraits of John Knox*, 1875. Moncrieff, *The Influence of Knox and the Scottish Reformation on England*: London, 1860. Froude, *The Influence of the Reformation on the Scottish Character*: Edinburgh, 1865.

THE RELIGION OF MODERN JUDAISM

By G. S. Hitchcock

Recently a rabbi visited a Jesuit theologate in the South of England. In the chapel he noted the devotion of students, who had entered to pray; and he was not unmindful that those prayers were addressed to One born of a Jewess. But the students noted the reverence of the rabbi; though at the same time it seemed hard and strange that the veil of the Tabernacle, and still more the veil of prejudice and misunderstanding, should separate His kinsman from the Messiah.

The Synagogue

In a Jewish synagogue, and standing on *Almemar* (this name being simply an Aramaic word with the Arabic article, and meaning the pulpit, or reader's platform in the centre of the hall), the rabbi would look towards the east end, where marble steps lead to the *Hekal*, or temple, sometimes called the *Kodesh*, or sanctuary. Beyond the *Ner Tamid*, or perpetual light, and the candlesticks, hangs a curtain, drawn back when the doors behind it must be opened. And within is the *Aron* or ark, formerly known as the *Tevah* or chest, to hold the *Sepher Torah*, or Book of

the Law. The central object of the synagogue is that volume of the Pentateuch, written with lampblack ink on specially prepared sheepskin or calfskin. Very solemn is the moment when the rabbi or the reader takes the scroll from the Ark, and when, as he raises it, he and the congregation repeat in Hebrew "Hear, Israel, my Lord our God, my Lord is One."

None in the synagogue would dare pronounce the Sacred Name, for which they substitute the word we render "my Lord." They proclaim indeed the Revelation of Mount Sinai, but conceal the Name which is both its token and the pledge of God's constancy in the covenant with Israel. In the Christian or Messianic service, on the other hand, the most solemn moment is the elevation of the Living Word, whose last passover witnessed the Revelation of Mount Sion.

The Position of Modern Judaism

The year of the new covenant was the thirtieth of our era, for then, according to St. John, the 14th of Nisan fell upon a Friday; and to it we must go back to understand the position of Modern Judaism. To the Temple, then standing, Messiah was to come, as Malachi had said. He came, and was unknown of most. But those who received Him achieved the aspirations of Israel in completing the work of Temple and Synagogue. True Israelites they were; and now they carried out among the nations the message which made Jerusalem a blessing to the world. Whatever opposition they met was in great measure produced by the hatred of those Israelites who read their national traditions through the letter of the law and a network of custom. From the year 30 to the destruction of the Temple in the year 70, the conflict grew ever more keen between these two, the Church of the Messiah and the Synagogue of the Pharisees. From the year 70 to the destruction of the city in the

year 135, the struggle continued, and became a tyranny on the part of the Synagogue, when rabbi Akiba and the false Messiah Bar-Kokba, "Son of a Star," found the Christians would not join in the revolt.

Hadrian, the emperor, laid waste Jerusalem and planted a pagan city on its site, the Jews being forbidden to approach the place again. Since then, the claim to represent the ancient Israel has unceasingly been made by these two—the Church formed of those who received the Messiah and fulfil the ancient prophecies by the admission of the nations to the Revealed Religion, and the Synagogue formed of those who deny the Messiah and refuse to enlarge their national limits. At Tiberius in Galilee, as already at Nisibis in Mesopotamia and at Nehardea in Babylonia, the Synagogue found a home; and it was in Palestine, about A.D. 180, that rabbi Judah the Prince, like his great contemporary St. Irenæus, collected the traditions of the elders. This oral law of the Synagogue, the *Mishnah*, or repetition, being taught by repetition, became the text-book of the schools in Palestine and Babylonia; and with the Old Testament canon recognised by ancient Pharisees and modern Protestants, together with certain *Midrashim*, or inquiries—that is, legal or homiletic expositions—and the *Targumin* or Aramaic interpretations of the Hebrew text, it formed their main literature.

The Mishnah is in six *Seders*, or orders. The first is called *Zeraim*, or seeds, and deals with prayer and agriculture. The second is the *Moed*, or festival. The third is *Nashim* or women, and explains the law of vows and marriages. The fourth, *Nezikin*, or damages, is occupied with civil and criminal law, and includes the one Mishnah tract on ethics, *Pirke Aboth*, the sayings of the fathers, the traditional utterances of great rabbis, from Simon the Just, who died in

291 B.C., to rabbi Judah himself. The fifth *Seder*, describing the Temple and sacrifices, deals with *Kodashim*, or holy things. The sixth is *Tohoroth*, or purifications. Besides the Mishnah, we find the *Tosefta*, or addition, and the *Baraitha*, or external, two collections like the Mishnah.

After the Mishnah had been compiled, the *Amoraim*, or speakers, came forward to interpret it. These doctors produced two large commentaries, each known as a *Gemara* or doctrine. The Palestinian, committed to writing about A.D. 350, is smaller, more condensed, and generally less intelligible than the Babylonian, completed about A.D. 550, and still the authoritative rule for most teachers of Modern Judaism. The Mishnah and the Gemara taken together constitute the *Talmud*, or the teaching; and therefore when the Talmud is quoted, it is important to know not only whether the reference is to the Palestinian or Babylonian work, but also whether it is to the Mishnah or Gemara portion, for the difference between the Mishnah, the Palestinian Gemara, and the Babylonian Gemara as historical witnesses may be measured by centuries.

If Modern Judaism represents the ancient school of the Pharisees, it also has seen Sadducees arise. There are graduated positions between the two strong parties; but overlooking the compromises, we note the Orthodox or Pharisaic Jew on the one side, and the reformed or Sadducean on the other. The real source of this reform movement may be found in the principle of rabbi Moses ben Maimon, better known as Maimonides. This man, who was compared with the ancient legislator, and of whom many said that from Moses to Moses there had been none like Moses, sought to show that Judaism was the true expression of human reason. To prove his statement he spiritualized and rationalized so freely that those who dared carry his method further, reduced the religion to one

of natural reason. He himself, however, was orthodox, and when his Arabic commentary on the Mishnah was completed in 1168, it was found to contain thirteen articles of belief, the *Ikkarim*, roots or fundamentals, the principles which have been accepted as almost the official creed of Modern Judaism.

The faithful Jew, repeating these, professes that he believes them with perfect faith; and they assert:—

1. The Creator, blessed be His Name, is Creator and Governor of all things that are created, and He alone made and makes and will make all things that are made.
2. The Creator, blessed be His Name, is One; and there is no Oneness in any way like His; and He alone was, is, and will be our God.
3. The Creator, blessed be His Name, is not a body; and the relations of the body do not relate to Him; and He has no likeness at all.
4. The Creator, blessed be his Name, is First and is Last.
5. The Creator, blessed be His Name, alone is worthy to be prayed, and none is worthy to be prayed except Him.

Then we come more explicitly to the Jewish Revelation:—

6. All the words of the prophets are truth.
7. The prophecy of Moses our teacher, the peace be upon him, was truthfulness; and he was chief of the prophets, of those preceding him and of those coming after him.
8. All the Law, the Commandment now in our hands, is that given to Moses our teacher, the peace be upon him.
9. This Law will not be changed; and there will not be another Law from the Creator, blessed be His Name.

10. The Creator, blessed be His Name, knows every deed of the sons of man and all their devisings, as it is said, He who alone forms their heart, is He who attends to all their doings.

11. The Creator, blessed be His Name, requites good to those who keep His commandments, and punishes those who transgress His commandments.

The concluding articles deal with the last things. In these the Israelite says :—

12. I believe with perfect faith in the coming of the Messiah; and though He is delayed, none the less I will wait for Him every day till He come.

13. I believe with perfect faith that there will be a revival of the dead at the time when it shall be willed by the Creator, blessed be His Name; and the remembrance of Him shall be exalted for ever and to the end of ends.

But the step which really set Liberal or Reformed Judaism on the path of Sadducean rationalism was taken by Moses Mendelssohn, who lived from 1728 to 1786, when the fashion of the eighteenth century and its pride in natural reason were infecting Modern Judaism. As Friedländer, in his work on the *Jewish Religion*, page 17, translates him, Mendelssohn recognized no other eternal truths than those which are not only comprehensible to the human mind, but also demonstrable by human powers. Judaism, he said, has no revealed religion, in the sense in which Christianity has. Laws and rules for conduct in life were revealed to Moses in a supernatural way; but, he added, no doctrines, no saving truth and no general laws of logic.

The two pillars of Judaism—the belief in the Revelation of God to Moses and the expectation of the Messiah—still upheld a positive faith in the supernatural. But for the last hundred years, the

reformers, more fatal to Judaism than Alexandrian mysticism, Arabian philosophy, or German idealism, have been shaking them. Early in 1800, some Jews in Holland rejected the Talmud; but their design to assemble a congress of Jews the following year at Luneville proved a failure. In 1815, however, Jacob Jacobson introduced the Reform into Berlin, and shocked the orthodox by simplified ritual, services in German, lay-preaching and the rite of confirmation. Later, towards the middle of the century, the reformers wished to reject not only the laws as to food and fasting, but even the institutions of circumcision and Sabbath. Then, in October 1847, Cahen wrote in the *Archives israélites*, page 801, that so far as the Jews were concerned, the Messiah came on February 28th 1790, with the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Henceforward the reformers speak quite frankly in regard to the Messiah; and it has been truly said of them, that they retain belief in the unity of God and in His promise to place Israel at the head of the nations; but, according to them, the Messianic prophecies must be explained by the Revolution of 1789, and the emancipation of the Jews. Messiah, they will have it, is the whole race marching to the conquest of the peoples. In a similar mood, some American Jews have avowed the United States to be their Holy Land and the American Revolution their Messiah.

The belief in God remained, but even this was threatened with rejection. In his *Glance over the History of the Jewish People*, page 20 of the French edition, Darmesteter wrote:—

"Suppress all those miracles and all those practices, yet behind all those suppressions and all those ruins remain the two great dogmas that, since the prophets, entirely constitute Judaism, the Divine Unity and Messianism, that is to say, unity of law in the world, and on the earth triumph of justice and

humanity. These are the two dogmas which, at the present hour, enlighten humanity on its march in the scientific order and in the social, and which are named in modern language, the one the unity of forces, and the other the belief in progress."

And now, it is frankly confessed by Schechter in his *Studies in Judaism*, page 183:

"Things have advanced so far that well-meaning but ill-advised writers even think to render a service to Judaism by declaring it to be a kind of enlightened Hedonism, or rather a moderate Epicureanism."

Then, at the present moment, and in regard to the Messianic hope of ancient Israel, the Catholic Church inherits the position of those Jews who accepted our Lord as the Messiah and admitted the nations to the Kingdom of God. Modern Judaism stands for the Jews, nationalist in politics and pharisee in religion, who refused our Lord. And Reformed Judaism represents Sadducean rationalism and unbelief. But the Reformed would claim the title of Modern Judaism. It is in this sense Abrahams writes in his booklet on *Judaism*, page 105: "Modern Jews think that in some respects the Rabbinic Judaism was an advance on the Biblical; they think further that their own modern Judaism is an advance on the Rabbinic." Yet, since the Church is Israel become universal, and Reformed Judaism tends to apostasy, Modern Judaism is the title proper to those alone who have tried to maintain their national forms to the present day. The work has never been easy, and daily it grows more difficult. On the one hand, the Liberal or Reform movement troubles the old, shakes the faith of the strong, and fills the young with a spirit of restlessness. Then a weariness of the disputes and an indifference to the historical traditions, together with the difficulty of keeping the Sabbath, combine to empty the synagogues. The *Univers israélite* for August 1906, page 590, confessed that the old Jewish

life is crumbling little by little in contact with modern civilization. "The ancient monument," it is said, "is already only a ruin which still preserves some majesty. Soon the very ruins will fall into dust. And it will require an effort of archæological erudition to reconstitute it for future generations." Zionism itself, in its method of forming Jewish colonies in Palestine as a refuge from the Antisemitism of Europe, illustrates the secular spirit of many Jews. At their congress in Basle, during August 1897, there was only one man who dared to urge belief in the Messiah, and to demand a religious basis for their enterprise. In the previous month, the committee of the German rabbis had denounced that very attempt to create a Jewish national State in Palestine as hostile to the Messianic promises contained in Holy Scripture. But their protest was in vain. How deeply the spirit of secularism has penetrated even the heart of Jewry may be suspected from the number and character of Jews in ethical societies, and from the fact that one synagogue was a few years ago represented by a deputy, well known as vice-president of a secular society in its neighbourhood. Indeed, a synagogue trustee once asked me to prove there is a God.

External Relations

But if there are the three claimants to the inheritance of ancient Israel—the Reformed Jews denying a personal Messiah, the Catholic Church announcing that He has already come, and the modern Jews still hoping for Him—these last are losing numbers not only to the negative side but also to the positive, to Christians as well as to Secularists. No doubt the positive movement, in acquiring something definite, is more difficult than one which simply releases what has been held. But the real difficulty is not what the modern Jew imagines it to be. Of course, he

must learn that Christians do not worship three Gods. Then he must find that the agreement of rationalist Protestants with rationalist Jews does not disprove the doctrines of the Faith. He must next realize that his becoming a Christian does not deprive him of anything Israelite. Law and prophets, sacrifices and hopes, are here fulfilled. He surrenders nothing in attaining all. There will, of course, be the difficulty every convert must meet in the loss of friends, the change of surroundings, and the loneliness of a stranger among a strange people. But the new life is worth harder trials, as we can learn from many a Jew. Theodore Ratisbonne, for example, had lost all hope of the Messiah; but anxious to know the meaning of life, he lived like a Stoic, sought the Masonic secret, and became a sceptic through the books of Locke, Volney, Bolingbroke, Rousseau, and Voltaire. Led by the influence of the Catholic Bautain to become a good Israelite, he began to understand Christianity as the completion of Israel's religion. Though the avowal meant separation from his father, and involved many a suffering, he endured, and endured to pray for twenty years till Our Lady's appearance to his brother Alphonse, on January 28th 1842, restored another Jew to the Commonwealth of Messianic, that is, of Christian Israel.

Others, who have not become Christians themselves, have yet obtained baptism for their children.

"In 1898," as Paul Bernard wrote in the *Études*, page 234, on the 20th of July 1907, "the University of Strassburg included no less than twelve Jews among the professors. None of them resolved to join a Christian body, but all without exception caused their children to be baptized. Besides, this example comes from the higher classes; and the orthodox Jews express some irritation when they are reminded that one of their most zealous members, Crémieux, the president of the *Alliance israélite universelle*.

caused his own children to be baptized in a Catholic church."

Of course, we must deduct those cases in which Jews have obtained baptism for themselves or their children to further their worldly interests, and those cases in which Jews, with or even without a nominal adoption of Christianity, have sought position in Christian organizations. Indeed, it was only last year, 1907, that Mr. Romain, elected churchwarden of St. Botolph Without in Bishopsgate, London, raised the question as to the right of Jews to hold such a position in the Anglican sect. But it would be unjust to the ethical value of a Jewish training to assume that Neander and Palgrave, Margoliouth and Chwolson, abandoned Judaism to find preferment; nor will anyone suppose that Edersheim became a Christian for the sake of his unhappy experience at Loders in Dorset. No doubt, many families are lost to Judaism through mixed marriages, the children generally becoming Christians. Therefore, though Modern Judaism has always condemned merely civil marriages, and though the Sanhedrin of 1807 officially recognised mixed marriages as valid, yet the *Univers israélite*, in May 1906, confessed it necessary to recognize a civil marriage among Israelites as less regrettable than a mixed marriage. But the number increases. In Prussia, for example, there were 228 mixed unions out of 2618 Jewish marriages in 1880. In the year 1905 there were 507 out of 3054.

It is difficult to determine the number of conversions, though Jean de Le Roy has shown there were at least a quarter of a million in the last century; and of these it is said that 58,000 became Catholics, 73,000 became Protestants, 75,000 became Greek schismatics, the rest joining various smaller bodies. But it is the tendency to increase which is so remarkable in the statistics. Early in the last

century, from 1815 to 1845, there were not 4000 conversions in all Prussia; but from 1880 to 1905 there were more than 3000 in Berlin alone. And if we compare the last two decades of the last century, the earlier discloses 2655 conversions of German Jews and the latter 4490.

Standing between natural reason and the Christian Revelation, Modern Judaism loses members to the one or to the other. So it makes little progress in numbers. Even though the Jewish statistics naturally include many who do not practise the Jewish religion, the increase compares unfavourably with the prolific nature of the Semitic race. As Wright pointed out in his lectures on the *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, page 8, the nomad population of Central Arabia was, in the earliest times, incessantly overstepping its bounds in every direction, and planting itself in Syria, Babylonia, Oman or Yaman.

"Successive layers of emigrants," said he, "would drive their predecessors in Syria and Babylonia farther northwards towards the borders of Kurdistan and Armenia, and thus the whole of Mesopotamia would be gradually Semitized, and even portions of Africa would in the course of time more or less completely share the same fate. This process," he added, "has often been repeated in more recent, historical times, in which the Arab migration has overflooded the whole of Syria and Mesopotamia."

If we accept the suggestion mentioned by Oesterley and Box in their *Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, pages 9 and 99, we may find another illustration in the Ashkenazic Jews, so named from Ashkenaz, son of Gomer, whose name was identified with that of the Germans. This great community is said to have consisted originally of Galileans, deported to the lower Rhine by Hadrian, and overflowing into Austria, Hungary, Poland, and

Central Europe. Spain, identified with the Sepharad of Obadiah, saw its Sephardic Jews overflow into Provence, Italy, North Africa, and Turkey, and that independently of the expulsion from Spain in 1492. Careful of family relations, they have increased, overpassed their territorial limits, and penetrated the Gentile world. Therefore, when Joseph of Portugal had, on November 8th 1776, ordered all his subjects of Jewish descent to wear yellow hats, his minister Pombal appeared the next day with three yellow hats under his arm—one for himself, one for the Grand Inquisitor, and one for the King.

But none the less the number of modern Jews does not keep pace with the natural increase of their families. This is ascertainable, because some Berlin Jews, in May 1902, formed a society to collect statistics of their race. Now the year 1905 found the number of Jews in the world to be 11,081,000, but 1907 counted only 11,059,987; and though we accept Rosenbaum's calculation that Leeds and Manchester together were formerly overrated by 10,000, yet Glasgow was underrated by 1000, and no allowance for errors will remove the impression that Modern Judaism is by no means progressive in numbers.

It is not a little remarkable that Judaism presents an analogy to Anglicanism. Within itself it holds some in sympathy with the Catholic mission of Israel and valuing its order of sacrifice and sacraments. To-day, and under the influence of the historical school in Modern Judaism, such persons have removed the centre of authority from the Bible; and to solve the contradictions in the Talmud, they have transferred it to a living body represented, according to Schechter's *Studies in Judaism*, page xxi, "by the collective conscience of Catholic Israel as embodied in the Universal Synagogue." But Catholic Israel is more than the Synagogue; and its infallible judge-

ments have been pronounced in the name of Jehovah by the power of His Holy Spirit through the voice of those who have succeeded to the throne of Israel's chief Apostle. Then there are those also, whose sympathies are more with what they imagine the religion to have been before the development of traditions. But besides these parties, high and low, there are the broad and liberal members, who surrender all that distinguishes Judaism from a Unitarian or Ethical philosophy, and defend their own consistency of thought and honesty of action by representing the ancient religion as the contrary of its own claims. Externally, too, there is a resemblance, for Judaism, like Anglicanism, is a national corporation, attempting to hold a position between the Catholic Church and the individualism of private judgements and personal opinions. But the pathos of Judaism is the greater, for it feels itself designed to become a universal kingdom, and yet cherishes all that limits it. It would find its true parallel in an acorn, if this could pray for the fulfilment of its life's purpose, and at the same time refuse to burst its envelope.

Organization

To preserve the ancient character of the theocracy, at once fully national and fully religious, is impossible now that the first part of Hosea's prophecy, iii. 4, has been fulfilled. If we may amend our present Hebrew text by the ancient Greek version, we can translate the prophet's words to Northern Israel in this form :—

> For during many days Israel's sons shall remain ;
> There will be no king,
> And there will be no prince,
> And there will be no sacrifice,
> And there will be no altar.

So to-day a *Cohen*, or priest, has little to do. When

the Law of Moses is read in the synagogue, he will be called to read the first three verses. When a first-born is a boy, the synagogue service for his redemption requires that a priest bless the child and receive the five shekels, that is, fifteen shillings. And on the festivals, a priest may be asked to pronounce the priestly blessing as it is appointed in the Book of Numbers, v. 24–26, the Sacred Name, however, being replaced by the Hebrew word for "my Lord."

> My Lord will bless thee:
> And He will keep thee.
>
> My Lord will brighten His Face to thee:
> And He will favour thee.
>
> My Lord will lift His Face to thee:
> And He will set peace for thee.

Nor has a rabbi any real power. Strictly speaking, he is a lawyer, a scribe, one versed in the law of Judaism, and an adept in deciding cases of conscience according to the moral theology of the Talmud. But the title is commonly given to him who reads the synagogue prayers and is properly known as the *Hazzan*, seer, or overseer. The real direction of the synagogue is in the hands of two wardens, the one being called the *Parnas*, president, and the other the *Gabbai*, treasurer. The former acts as master of ceremonies, seldom surrendering that office except to one whose son is a *Bar-mitzwah*, a son of the commandment, having attained his thirteenth year, and reading the Law for the first time.

An essential change in the whole system was made by Napoleon. Since Modern Judaism existed by its refusal to absorb the nations, the nations would absorb Modern Judaism. To organise it was, therefore, the first step. On May 13th 1806, Napoleon summoned Jews from France, Italy, and Holland; and in August these drew up a declaration no ancient

Pharisee would have signed. Their religion, they said, ordered them to regard the law of the prince as supreme in civil and political matters. Consequently, they added, should their religious code or the interpretations of it involve civil or political dispositions not in harmony with the French Code, they themselves would cease to be ruled by such Jewish regulations, since they ought above all to recognize the law of the prince and to obey him. It was a repetition of the cry: "We have no King but Cæsar." Yet now it was urged by the self-contradiction in their position, for they were not only a universal kingdom that insisted on being national, but they were also a nation without a capital or a territory.

Napoleon seized the opportunity, and named the assembly the Grand Sanhedrin. In the following year a rabbinate was appointed and organized, though, as some one has pointed out, the rabbis have never been and could not be the ministers of the Old Testament. In 1808 Napoleon interfered still more in the religion of Modern Judaism. He founded consistories, nominated rabbis, regulated other synagogue affairs, and sanctioned the resolutions of his Grand Sanhedrin. But to further his real purpose, he ordered that each Jew should take a forename and a family name from other sources than the Old Testament. Some years later, on February 8th 1831, the Liberal government of Louis Philippe appointed a state salary for the rabbis. The next step followed on May 25th 1844, when a royal order gave Modern Judaism a civil constitution. The new regulations placed the Jewish religion under the Christian Minister of Public Worship. As the elder Ratisbonne shewed in the *Jewish Question*, page 19 of the French edition, the Jewish laymen, who formed the central consistory at Paris, could be dissolved by a Government order, and then the rule of the synagogues

would be entrusted by the State minister to a provisory administration. But even under normal conditions the departmental consistories were obliged to render account to the prefects. More remarkable still was the development, when the next year applied the order to the Jews in Algeria, then under military rule; and so Modern Judaism found itself subject to a Gentile Minister for War. But now, no Maccabee arose.

Even this position has not proved permanent. By the French Separation Law, the State separated itself from the Synagogue as well as from the Church; and now, as Nordau wrote in the *Jewish Chronicle*, the official façade of French Judaism has collapsed; and it is disclosed in all its pitiful weakness and decrepitude. Not 3000 of the 70,000 Jews in Paris have even joined the new "Central Union of Jews in France." Elsewhere, also, the falling away of Jews from Modern Judaism is evidenced by the fact that there are only 622 synagogue seatholders out of 4000 Jews in Birmingham, 60 out of 850 in Bristol, 10 out of 103 in Chatham, 61 out of 400 in Cork, perhaps 200 out of 2700 in Dublin, apparently not 700 out of 7000 in Liverpool, not 700 out of 7500 in Glasgow, about 2000 out of 23,000 in Manchester, 80 seatholders and 20 other members out of 800 in Belfast, and out of 17 residents and 23 students in Oxford only 16 seatholders. It is impossible to speak with any certainty of Leeds, but it does not seem there are 1000 seatholders out of 15,000 Jews. And in Eastern London itself, the 44 synagogues forming the Federation have not an average attendance of 108 members each. Indeed, very many Jews have little more connection with the synagogue than an annual attendance on *Yom Kippur*, the Day of Atonement, to lament their sins.

Anti-Semitism

On the other hand, the position of Modern Judaism among the nations does not improve. Having made the great refusal to fulfil its mission in their regard, it seems like Jonah, an unwilling missionary, now in the hollow of the wave and now in that of the sea-monster, and like itself in olden days when it was swallowed by Babylon. It may boast of some successful financiers and statesmen; and it may rejoice when Jews receive such important offices as those Governor Hughes of New York has conferred on several of them. But none the less, it must acknowledge with the editor of the *Jewish Year Book*, page 471, published in September 1907, that

"so far from lifting, the clouds have descended in ever-thickening gloom. It is no exaggeration [he asserts] to say that in this twentieth century the condition of the majority of Jews presents a picture of abject misery such as even the worst periods of the Middle Ages could not have exceeded. With the whole of Eastern Europe bent upon their extermination or expulsion, and the civilized countries of the West less inclined than ever to receive them, the outlook for the time being seems almost hopeless."

Various causes are suggested to explain the hostility of the nations against Modern Judaism. Like Pharaoh in the Book of Exodus, i. 9, some complain that

"the people of Israel's sons are too many and too strong for us."

Like Haman in the Book of Esther, iii. 8, others urge against the Jews that

> Their laws are diverse from every people;
> And they do not keep the king's laws.

And besides such protests against their rivalry and polity, we can still hear the charge made by Juvenal about A.D. 127, in his fourteenth satire, that they lead others to adopt a hostile relation to the State, so that these

> Having become accustomed to despise the Roman laws,
> Learn, observe and revere the Jewish rule,
> All that Moses delivered in his secret book.

The scorn of Tacitus also, expressed in his *Histories*, v. 5, and during the second decade of the second century, is still to be noted in the voice of those who complain of the Jews' aloofness in regard to marriage and social life, and denounce them as hating and hateful to patriotism. With blind vehemence the pagan Roman wrote of the Jewish religion:—

"All the utterly depraved, scorning their ancestral worship, used to heap contributions and donations upon it; and then the property of the Jews increased. And because their fidelity to one another is inflexible, charity is prompt. But against all others they entertain an enemy's hatred. Dining apart, and holding themselves aloof in regard to marriage, these clansmen, though most impetuous in licentiousness, yet refrain from wedding those of other race. Among themselves nothing is unlawful. They have instituted circumcision that they themselves may be recognized by the difference. Those perverted to their way of life practise this same custom; but first of all, they are trained to belittle the gods, to divest themselves of patriotism, and to cheapen their parents, children and brothers."

If the Jews are also condemned because of their financial ability, Europe trained them, for English Jews had no resource except usury; and the Ordinance of Valladolid, in 1412, not only excluded them from the markets of bread, wine, flour, oil, and butter,

but also forbade them to become carpenters, tailors, or shoemakers. And though it is hardly credible, yet recent years have again heard the accusation of Ritual Murder, the killing of a Christian child in fulfilment of some rite. Sometimes it was said that this people, to whom blood is absolutely forbidden, used the child's blood in making the Passover cakes. Of this falsehood, Leroy-Beaulieu says in his *Israel Among the Nations*, that it cannot be traced beyond the year 1100. It was certainly condemned by Pope Gregory IX. in 1235, and by Pope Innocent IV. in 1247. But when the Protestant Centuriators of Magdeburg were publishing their centuries of Church history at Basle from 1559 to 1574, their enmity against the Jews impelled them to allege that Pope Innocent's condemnation of the calumny had been purchased. About two centuries later, the charge was again investigated; and Ganganelli, afterwards Pope Clement XIV., having examined the evidence carefully, declared the accusation a slander. That was in the year 1756, yet so recently as June 29th 1891, as Deutsch reminded us when he wrote on Anti-Semitism for the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, the Blood Accusation arose in connection with the murder of a child, a Jewish butcher being arraigned but acquitted.

The history of the race for eighteen centuries has been a tragedy of profound pathos and unfathomed meaning. Bitterly did they suffer in those ages, when some men were too earnest to be indifferent, and others too fanatic to be just. But even then, as Abrahams acknowledges in his *Short History of Jewish Literature*, page 109, "nowhere was mediaeval intolerance less felt than in the very seat of the Pope, the head of the Church." Yet when we have exhausted all natural means of explanation there is much remaining to be explained and implying agencies more than natural. There is more than an epigram in the story of the Prussian king, who asked his court

chaplain to prove by one word that the Bible is true, and was answered "The Jews, Sire." But, apart from that aspect of the matter, it is striking to see the Jews, in the second, as in the first century, invoking persecution upon their own who had accepted the Messiah and were extending His kingdom. It was a full record that Tertullian summed in speaking of the Jews' synagogues as founts of persecutions, when he wrote his *Scorpiacum*, c. x, about the year 210, against those Gnostics who held martyrdom of no account. At that time the Jews persecuted to preserve their landless nationality, as they had previously slain the Messiah Himself, lest the Romans might take their place and nation. To-day they suffer for the same ideal, since they have chosen it as the form of all their hopes. even to abandoning their universal mission and the New Covenant announced by Jeremiah. Said an eloquent rabbi, the Rev. B. J. Salomons, at Montefiore College in Ramsgate, April 5th 1908: "... we form a nation within a nation in whatsoever land we pitch our tents. ... With few exceptions, we intermarry among ourselves, and thus maintain the purity of our race; and our internal laws and religious tenets tend to preserve the peculiar individuality of our people, which centuries of bitter persecution have proved ineffectual to crush." And still, on the second night of Passover, the long story of Israel's sufferings is repeated in the allegory, derived from the same source as our nursery tale of the "House that Jack Built." This folksong, known as the *Had Gadya*, the one kid, opens with the statement that God redeemed Israel with circumcision and the Passover, which are denoted by two zuzim, the zuz being the silver denarius or dinar, and worth about 9½*d.*

> The one kid, the one kid,
> Which the Father bought with two zuzim.
> The one kid, the one kid.

Then it tells of Egypt's oppression :—

> And the cat came and ate the kid,
> Which the Father bought for two zuzim.
> The one kid, the one kid.

But the conclusion resumes all the ancient sorrows of Israel. Therefore as we read it, we may easily add the interpretation :—

> And there came the Holy One, blessed be He,
> And He slaughtered the Angel of Death,
> That slaughtered the slaughterer, *the Crusaders*,
> That slaughtered the ox, *the Saracens*,
> That drank the water, *the Romans*,
> That quenched the fire, *the Greeks*,
> That burned the stick, *the Persians*,
> That beat the dog, *the Babylonians*,
> That bit the cat, *the Egyptians*,
> That ate the kid, *the Israelites*,
> That the Father bought for two zuzim.
> The one kid, the one kid.

The Prayers

The attitude of modern Judaism is also revealed in the *Eighteen Benedictions*, known as the *Shemoneh Esreh*, eighteen, and more generally as the *Tephillah*, or prayer, or the *Amîdah*, or standing, because the congregation must stand during its repetition. The expression, "Blessed art Thou, O Lord," occurs in each paragraph ; and of these there are really nineteen, for rabban Gamaliel of Jamnia authorised the insertion of a suffrage against the kingdom of Israel's enemies. The whole *Amîdah* occupies more than ten pages of the *Authorised Daily Prayer-Book* ; but for the moment it will be sufficient to consider the grounds on which the Chosen People bless the Lord their God. The first group of blessings contemplates the goodness of God. He remembers the pieties of the fathers, and brings a Redeemer to their sons' sons

for His Name's sake in love. He also revives the dead, and is mighty to save. And again, He is the Holy God. Blessing Him six times, the second group pleads for individuals, that they may have knowledge, repentance, forgiveness, redemption from affliction, healing in sickness and the produce of the earth. The third group also blesses God six times, but pleads for the national kingdom. The Lord is besought to gather the dispersed Israelites, to restore His own sovereignty, to shatter his enemies' kingdom of insolence, to give a good reward to all who faithfully trust in His Name, to rebuild Jerusalem in our days that it may for ever be the place of David's throne, and to cause the sprout of David His servant speedily to sprout that His horn may be uplifted by God's salvation, because these who pray have waited all the day for that salvation. The last four regard the national worship, imploring now that these prayers be heard, now that the service be restored to the Most Holy Place, now that God will gather the exiles to His holy courts to keep His statutes and to do His will and to serve Him with a perfect heart, and lastly, that there may be peace upon Israel.

So the isolation of the people is assumed, their hopes are strictly national and their reading of the Law is essentially literal. But this is in full accord with the spirit of the ancient Pharisees. Thus Hillel, in the time of Herod the Great, would make a sandwich of Passover lamb, unleavened bread and bitter herbs; and rabbi Green, commenting on this in his *Revised Hagadah*, or narrative, that is, the Passover service, page 57, says it is "an example of the love for literality which distinguished the rabbis and which was not too small even for the great mind of Hillel." It had been commanded in Exodus xii. 8 that the Israelites should eat the Passover lamb, unleavened bread and bitter herbs. In doubt as to the order in which they ought to be eaten, Hillel

satisfied his scruple by taking them all three at once. And Modern Judaism follows his example.

But perhaps the most essential element in Modern Judaism is its recitation of the *Shema*, or *Shemang*, as many Ashkenazim pronounce it. This word is the first in the great proclamation:—

Hear, Israel, my Lord our God, my Lord is One.

Then is added,

Blessed be His Name, the glory of His Kingdom is for ever and aye.

Afterwards, the passage from Deuteronomy vi. is continued:—

And thou shalt love my Lord thy God with all thy heart,
And with all thy soul and with all thy might.

And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be on thy heart;
And thou shalt instil them into thy sons.

And thou shalt speak of them when thou dwellest in thy house;
And when thou walkest in the way,

And when thou liest down,
And when thou risest.

And thou shalt bind them for a sign on thy hands;
And they shall be for circlets between thy eyes.

And thou shalt write them on the doorposts of thy house,
And in thy gates.

The second extract is taken from a later passage in the same book, xi. 13 to 21, the Jews as always substituting the word "my Lord" for the Sacred Name.

And it shall be, if indeed you hear my commandments,
Which I command you to-day,

To love my Lord your God and to serve Him
With all your heart and with all your soul ;

And I will give you the rain of your land in its time, autumn-rain and spring-rain ;
And thou shalt gather thy corn and thy wine and thy oil.

And I will give grass in thy field for thy cattle ;
And thou shalt eat, and thou shalt be satisfied.

Heed yourselves, lest your heart be deceived,
And you turn aside, and serve other gods, and worship them.

And the anger of my Lord shall burn against you ;
And He shall shut the heavens, and there shall be no rain.

And the land shall not give her produce ;
And you shall perish speedily off the good land, which my Lord gives you.

And you shall put these my words on your heart and on your soul ;
And you shall bind them for a sign on your hand.

And they shall be for circlets between your eyes ;
And you shall teach them to your sons,

To speak to them when thou dwellest in thy house,
And when thou walkest by the way,

And when thou liest down,
And when thou risest.

And thou shalt write them on the doorposts of thy house,
And in thy gates,

That your days may be many, and your sons' days on the land,
Of which my Lord swore to your fathers He would give it them,
Like the days of the heavens on the earth.

The final extract is taken from the Book of Numbers xv. 37 to 41 :—

And my Lord said to Moses, saying,
Speak to Israel's sons, and thou shalt say to them :

And they shall make for them a tassel on the corners of their garments for their generations ;
And they shall put a blue cord on the tassel of the corner.

And it shall be to you for a tassel, and you shall see it;
And you shall remember all the commandments of my Lord, and
do them.

And you shall not explore after your heart and after your eyes,
After which you stray;

That you may remember and do all my commandments;
And you shall be holy to your God.

I am the Lord your God, who caused you to issue from the land
of Egypt,
That I might be to you for God.
I am the Lord your God.

Therefore, when praying the Jew wears a *talith* or stole, a shawl with a *tsitsith* or tassel fastened by a blue cord to each corner. Under his waistcoat also, and over breast and back, he generally wears a small garment, the *Arba Kanfoth*, or four corners, so called because the tassels are attached to its four corners. To his doorpost he fastens a *mezuzah*, literally a doorpost, but denoting a small tube containing the two *Shema* passages from Deuteronomy. Then, with two straps and two small boxes, all made from the skin of a legally clean animal, and sewn with threads from such an animal's veins, the Jew makes his *tephillin*, the word originally meaning ornaments, but now, as Friedländer says in his *Jewish Religion*, page 331, denoting things used during prayer. These are also called phylacteries, the name being derived from a Greek word meaning "guards," and used to translate the Hebrew for "circlets." The one box is called *Tephillah shel yad* or *Tephillah shel zeroa*, literally the prayer for the hand or the prayer for the arm. This is worn on the inside of the left arm, just above the elbow. The other, to be worn just above the forehead, is called *Tephillah shel rosh*, literally the prayer for the head. Each box contains parchment with the two *Shema* passages from Deuteronomy, and also the first sixteen verses from the thirteenth

chapter of Exodus, in which Israel is commanded to sanctify the firstborn and to keep the feast of unleavened bread, the purpose of the ordinances being explained by the words:—

And thou shalt tell thy son in that day, saying,
Because of what the Lord did for me in the issuing from Egypt.

And it shall be to thee for a sign on thy hand,
And for a remembrance between thy eyes.

So clinging to the past, and dreaming of a future other than their own revelation foreshadowed, Israel may adopt what Arnold wrote of himself, in his *Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse*:—

"Wandering between two worlds, one dead,
The other powerless to be born,
With nowhere yet to rest my head,
Like these, on earth I wait forlorn."

And Zangwill makes the pessimist of his *Chad Gadya* representative of latter-day "Israel, the race that always ran to extremes, which, having been first in faith, was also first in scepticism." Then he compares the Chosen People to "an orphan wind, homeless, wailing about the lost places of the universe." Surely there is no limit to the sorrow of it all. No wonder Moses and Paul would have surrendered their own hope of Heaven, for the sake of these their kinsmen; and One greater than Moses or Paul surrendered Heaven itself.

The Festivals

The festivals, however, suggest much. The first ten days of the autumn month, Tishri, are penitential, the first being *Rosh hash-shanah*, the head or beginning of the year according to the civil reckoning. This day is also called *Yom teruah*, day of shouting, for

the *shofar* or horn is blown to proclaim the Day of Remembrance and the Day of Judgement. Then the Synagogue implores God to rend all the veils which make a separation this day between Him and His people Israel. During the Ten Days of Penitence, except on the Sabbath, they repeat the prayer, "Our Father our King," which includes these expressions:—

> Our Father our King, we sinned before Thee.
> Our Father our King, we have no king but Thee.
> Our Father our King, deal with us for Thy Name's sake.

And further on we read this:—

"Our Father our King, bring us back in perfect return to Thee."

The tenth day is the great fast of *Yom Kippur*, the Day of Atonement, the services for that one day filling two volumes. Much time is occupied by the ancient history of Israel, the account of the Atonement Day in the Temple, and confessions, including one of

"the sin which we sinned before Thee in the hardening of the heart."

Five days later falls *Sukkoth*, or Tabernacles, when a booth is made to celebrate the fruit harvest and in memorial of the wilderness wanderings. To its eight days has been added *Simhath Torah*, the Rejoicing of the Law, when scrolls of the Written Word are taken from the Ark, and carried in procession round the synagogue, as the Blessed Sacrament of the Living Word is taken from the Tabernacle, and carried in procession round the church.

In winter, on the 25th of Kislew begins *Hanukkah*, the Dedication, or Festival of Lights to celebrate the deliverance of Israel and the Dedication of the Temple by Judah the *Makkavah*, the Hammer, in 164 B.C. Near the street door for eight days are set lights, their number marking that of the evening.

Before they are lit, it is said, "Blessed art Thou, my Lord our God, King of the world, who wroughtest signs for our fathers in those days at this time." But there is no mention of the sign the Bethlehem shepherds saw at such a season, nor at that thirty-three years later, when the Messiah, the Christ, the Anointed by God for the full deliverance of the world, was walking in the Temple in Solomon's Porch, and His people were seeking to stone Him.

With the springtime comes the Festival of Passover and unleavened bread. The head of each family then recalls the exodus, Israel's benefits and some great events which occurred at the Paschal time, yet omitting that most momentous for the people. But if they are still silent of the Crucifixion, yet they say:—

"Our God and God of our fathers, may our remembrance ascend and come and reach and be seen and accepted and heard and visited and remembered, and our visitation and the remembrance of our fathers, and the remembrance of Messiah the Son of David Thy servant, and the remembrance of Jerusalem Thy Holy City, and the remembrance of all Thy people of Israel's house before Thee, for deliverance, goodness, grace, kindness, compassion, life and peace in this day of the Feast of the Unleavened Cakes."

Passover, on the 14th of Nisan, is connected with the early or barley harvest. A week of weeks later, the Feast of Weeks or Pentecost, fiftieth day from the second of Passover, marks the second or wheat harvest; but some time, apparently after our first century, it became the celebration of the Sinai Revelation. Then is read the Book of Ruth, probably because of its harvest reference, but suggesting a later episode in the history of Bethlehem as well as foreshadowing the reception of the Gentiles by the Church which came forth from Jerusalem for the transcendent fulfilment of all the hopes in Modern Judaism.

The Calendar

The order of the Jewish fasts, festivals, and other important days may be illustrated by the arrangements for this year 1908 of the Christian era:—

Jan. 4. New Moon, and first day of the month Shebat.
Feb. 2. New Moon, and first day of the month First Adar.
Feb. 3. Second day of First Adar.
Feb. 16. Little Purim.
Feb. 17. Little Purim.
Mar. 3. New Moon, and first day of the month Second Adar, the intercalated 13th month of the Jewish leap year.
Mar. 4. Second day of Second Adar.
Mar. 16. Fast of Esther.
Mar. 17. Purim.
Mar. 18. Shushan Purim, the day of the feast in Persian Shushan, *Esther* ix. 18.
Apr. 2. New Moon, and first day of the month Nisan.
Apr. 15. Fast of the Firstborn, followed by the First Night Seder, or order; that is, the Paschal Feast.
Apr. 16. First Day of Passover.
Apr. 17. Second day of Passover. The Counting of the Omer begins in accordance with *Leviticus* xxiii. 15.
Apr. 18. First Sabbath after the Second Day of Passover. The *Book of Canticles* is read.
Apr. 22. Seventh Day of Passover.
Apr. 23. Eighth Day of Passover.
May 1. New Moon, and first day of the month Iyar.
May 2. Second day of Iyar.
May 11. First Fast after Passover.
May 14. Second Fast after Passover.
May 18. Third Fast after Passover.
May 19. Thirty-third day of counting the Omer, the Scholars' Festival, to celebrate the ceasing of a plague among Rabbi Akiba's pupils.
May 31. New Moon, and first day of the month Siwan.
June 5. Feast of Weeks, first day of Pentecost.
June 6. Second day of Pentecost.
June 29. New Moon, and first day of the month Tamuz.
June 30. Second day of Tamuz.
July 16. Fast of Tamuz, instituted on account of the breach the besiegers made in the walls of Jerusalem. It is "the fast of the fourth month," *Zechariah* viii. 19.
July 29. New Moon, and first day of the month Ab.

Aug. 6. Fast of Ab, the "Black Fast" for the destruction of both Temples. As observed for the destruction of the First Temple, it is "the fast of the fifth" month, *Zechariah* viii. 19.
Aug. 27. New Moon, and first day of the month Ellul.
Aug. 28. Second day of Ellul.
Sept. 26. New Moon, and first day of the month Tishri. This is New Year's Day, according to the reckoning of the Jews; and now begins their year 5669. The first ten days are penitential.
Sept. 27. Second day of the New Year.
Sept. 28. Fast of Gedaliah, instituted on account of his death, *Jeremiah* xli. It is "the fast of the seventh" month, *Zechariah* viii. 19.
Oct. 5. *Yom Kippur*, the Day of Atonement, *the Day*, the "White Fast," *Leviticus* xvi.
Oct. 10. First day of *Sukkoth*, or Tabernacles.
Oct. 11. Second day of Tabernacles.
Oct. 16. *Hoshana Rabba*, the "Great Hosanna," the seventh day and climax of the Tabernacles Festival.
Oct. 17. Eighth day of Tabernacles, a Solemn Assembly.
Oct. 18. *Simhath Torah*, the Rejoicing of the Law, the Pentateuch concluded and recommenced.
Oct. 25. New Moon, and first day of the month Marheshwan.
Oct. 26. Second day of Marheshwan.
Nov. 16. First Fast after Tabernacles.
Nov. 19. Second Fast after Tabernacles.
Nov. 23. Third Fast after Tabernacles, and Little Yom Kippur, or the Little Day of Atonement before the New Moon.
Nov. 24. New Moon, and first day of the month Kislew.
Nov. 25. Second day of Kislew.
Dec. 19. First day of *Hanukkah*, or Dedication, to celebrate the dedication of the Temple by Judah the *Makkavah*, or Hammer, in 164 B.C., 1 *Maccabees* iv. 52; *St. John* x. 22.
Dec. 20. Second day of the Dedication.
Dec. 21. Third day of the Dedication.
Dec. 22. Fourth day of the Dedication.
Dec. 23. Fifth day of the Dedication.
Dec. 24. Sixth day of the Dedication. New Moon, and first day of the month Tebeth.
Dec. 25. Seventh day of the Dedication. Second day of Tebeth.
Dec. 26. Eighth day of the Dedication.
Jan. 3, 1909. Fast of Tebeth, instituted to commemorate the day when the siege of Jerusalem began. It is the "fast of the tenth" month, *Zechariah* viii. 19.

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Stanton's *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah.*

The Synagogue prayers may be found in De Sola's *Forms of Prayer*, 5 vols. ; or in Adler's *Service of the Synagogue*, to be completed in 6 vols.

The life of London Jews is described in Zangwill's *Children of the Ghetto* (Realist fiction).

The Oral Law may be studied in De Sola and Raphall's *Eighteen Treatises from the Mishna*, or in Lowe's *Mishnah on which the Palestinian Talmud rests* (Hebrew).

For the *Talmud*, there is Schwab's translation of the Palestinian into French, 11 vols., and Rodkinson's of the Babylonian into English, 10 vols. ; but it requires much study and patience to find a way through the miscellany, which is also disfigured by shameful libels, composed in the latter part of the second century to discredit the Christian religion.

For the general history of the Jews, the five volumes by Graetz would be most valuable, were they not so hostile to the Christian Faith and Church.

THE RELIGION OF UNITARIANISM

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The Position of Unitarianism

Unitarianism is sometimes explained as the religion of those who deny a real Trinity of Persons in the Godhead. But that explanation must be qualified, if we would distinguish true Unitarians from Broad Churchmen on the one side and from Agnostics on the other. Some Unitarians have described their religion as the confessing one God and the paying twenty shillings in the pound. Of course, this is not a serious description of Unitarianism; but such conversational phrases on the lips of ministers and other leaders have a certain value in indicating the position. Then, to distinguish themselves from other upright Monotheists, some add a negation to their principles, and announce these as one God, twenty shillings in the pound, and no Devil. The last note is significant; but, as a matter of fact, it is not the only negative mark of Unitarianism. In his account of the *Unitarian Movement* the Rev. W. Copeland Bowie writes:

"Anyone who attended regularly the Sunday services in one of our churches would discover, among other things, the entire absence of certain doctrines upon which the great churches of Christendom continue to place emphasis. The doctrines of the Trinity, the Deity of Christ, the Atonement, the Infallibility of the Bible, Eternal Torments, and other orthodox beliefs, would not be mentioned except by way of rejecting their validity."

Then between the Catholic Church and the Unitarians stand the various Christian sects. The Russian Church has refused the Catholic unity. Anglicanism has also rejected the Mass and the Invocation of the Saints. Wesleyanism and Presbyterianism have further abandoned the historic Episcopate. The loosing of the bonds between such congregations till each becomes an atom and unit by itself, spells Congregationalism. Modern Judaism is a congregational system with the New Testament omitted. To abandon the Old Testament also as a real Revelation from God would place a man on the platform of natural reason with the Unitarian.

We may now define Unitarianism as the body of principles, positive and negative, adopted by congregations of worshippers on the ground of natural reason. This definition may be illustrated by a statement in the Rev. Richard Armstrong's *God and the Soul*, p. 183:

> "The great facts of religion," he says, "are the Power, the Wisdom and the Goodness of God, the reality of communion between the human spirit and the Divine, the conquering power of Good over Evil. It is given to us to know these truths from our own reason and our own experience."

Frankly individualist, the Unitarian position is not like those of the Christian sects, which may be described as inconsistent compromises between Catholicism and individualism. In this, however, Unitarianism has a difficulty of its own. It is expressed clearly enough by the Rev. Henry Ierson, in the lecture on "The Church," which he has republished in the *Positive Aspects of Unitarian Christianity*. "The institution of a church," says he (p. 238), "though it be only a congregation habitually worshipping together, supposes some organization, however slight; but how to reconcile this with entire individual freedom!" He speaks of solving the difficulty "by preserving ever fresh the vitality of church life";

but his more definite solution is an appeal to the Congregational principle, for he urges that "the utmost claim of the open trust and non-subscribing principle does not preclude the right of a congregation at any time to defend itself from being turned aside from the pursuit of its own edification according to its own free right of judgement." The minister's right of expressing his own views is, therefore, limited by the congregation's right to deprive him of his position after three months' notice; but the right of the individual Unitarian to hold what doctrines he pleases is practically unlimited.

In consequence of this position, the opinions of Unitarians will vary, not only from time to time and from place to place, but also from man to man. They claim to be the only body of Christians who have not adopted a confession of faith. "It is, therefore," says the Rev. Walter Lloyd in his *Story of Protestant Dissent and English Unitarianism*, p. 231, "still impossible to formulate a Unitarian theology, or to say of any set of doctrinal propositions, about these all Unitarians are agreed."

To preserve this changeable position, the trust-deeds of the buildings and properties do not bind the minister or the congregation to hold any doctrine. A model of such a document is given in the *Essex Hall Year Book*; and the first two clauses run:—

1. The Trustees shall permit and suffer the said church and premises to be from time to time and at all times hereafter peaceably and quietly used occupied and enjoyed as and for a place for the worship of God by the congregation [of Protestant Dissenters from the Established Church of England] who may from time to time hereafter assemble therein for such purpose and also for the holding of meetings and services to be held according to the general rules of such congregation. Provided always that no trust for any particular religious doctrines or opinions or mode of regulating worship is intended to be hereby expressed or declared or implied as attaching to the said church and premises but the same is and shall be taken and held to be a church as to which no particular religious doctrines or opinions

or mode of regulating worship are, or is required to be taught or observed or forbidden to be taught or observed therein. And provided further that no regulation shall at any time be made whereby the acceptance of any Creed Article or Confession of Faith shall be established as a condition of Church-membership and no such regulation if made shall have any force or effect, but so nevertheless that this proviso shall not prevent the congregation from making use of such formularies and means of Divine Worship and generally worshipping in such manner as they shall from time to time think fit.

2. The Trustees shall permit such person or persons from time to time and at all times hereafter to officiate in the said church as minister or ministers to such congregation as shall be chosen and appointed for that purpose by the congregation and shall allow such minister or ministers free access at all times to the said church and premises. Provided that if any minister so chosen as aforesaid shall at any time be removed by the vote and consent of the said congregation then the minister so removed shall not from the time of such removal have or enjoy any right interest or benefit in to or out of the said church and premises but the same shall be used and enjoyed by such other minister as shall be chosen for the purposes aforesaid in the place of the minister so removed and for such purpose and in such manner as the said congregation shall from time to time direct and appoint.

The Method of Unitarianism

The Unitarian individualism in opinion, logically deducible from a claim to a right of private judgement, would make union impossible, were there not some element besides a changing body of affirmations and negations. This element, implied in all Unitarianism, and enunciated by its leading writers, is the basing of all belief on natural reason. Whether, therefore, prophecies and miracles are denied, or the existence of God asserted, the statements are presented as the conclusions of such reasoning.

This will enable us to distinguish more clearly between Unitarianism and Protestantism. If the Unitarian refuses the canon of the New Testament, he tries to justify his action by arguments. These in turn are supported by other arguments, which make their

final appeal to the logical principle of contradiction, that it is impossible for the same thing both to be and not to be at the same time and in the same respect. But when the Protestant is asked on what ground he accepts the canon of the New Testament as the Word of God, he may for a moment appeal to his forefathers or his own judgement; yet in the end, as he will not acknowledge the Catholic authority which received the books and bound them together, he must take refuge in the witness of his own feelings. The pietism of Protestantism then stands opposed to the rationalism of Unitarianism. And if the heart makes the Protestant theologian, it is the brain that makes the Unitarian.

The Catholic Church, however, has retained the harmony of brain and heart; and we may understand the Unitarian method the better by comparing it with the Catholic. The student for the priesthood passes through a course of philosophy and theology. In the former, everything is based on human reason. Both Catholic and Unitarian learn the principles of reasoning, and with their aid investigate the Universe as a whole. Thence they pass to the special provinces of the World and the Soul, and to the ultimate explanation of all things in the existence and nature of God. That existence of God, the sphere of freedom for the human will and the immortality of the human soul, are proved and vindicated against objection. But the method is that of human reason, whether we adopt the technically scientific language and demonstrations of a scholastic text-book of philosophy, or prefer the kaleidoscopic sentences and stately rhythms of Dr. Martineau's *Study of Religion.*

In that work, according to the Clarendon Press revised edition of 1889, the distinguished Unitarian sums up "the results which are yielded by the principle of Causality." "There is," he says (vol. i. p. 391), "one universal Cause, the infinite and eternal seat of all

power, an omniscient Mind, ordering all things for ends selected with perfect wisdom." Neither Catholic nor Unitarian can follow him when he says of creation out of nothing (i. 383) that "the 'Nothing' is hardly, to ordinary thought, so sweepingly negative as to bar the assumption of Space as the eternal condition of a Universe." However, we are at one with him in his argument for freewill, and when he declares (ii. 186) that "in Western Christendom it is the Catholic Church alone, especially in its Dominican and Jesuit schools, that has saved any ability in man to obey the will of God." Afterwards (ii. 187), having confessed his "own conversion from the philosophical creed in which" he "was early established by the writings of Hartley, Collins, and Priestley," he concludes (p. 300) that "the language of Ethics, then, when translated into necessarian formulas, parts with all conceptions distinctly moral, and becomes simply descriptive of phenomena in natural history." As to immortality, he concludes his argument with this sentence (ii. 371): "The vaticinations of our moral nature are thus in harmony with those of the intellectual and spiritual; distinctly reporting to us, that we stand in Divine relations which indefinitely transcend the limits of our earthly years."

Proceeding further, and still under the guidance of human reason, both Catholic and Unitarian analyse and establish the principles of human conduct and natural law. In one sentence, we may say that both study Logic, Metaphysics, Cosmology, Psychology, Natural Theology, Ethics, and Natural Right.

Another step may be taken by Catholic and Unitarian, both employing the method of human reason. It is the transition from Natural to Revealed Religion. The argument of the Catholic is still with those who, as St. Thomas Aquinas says in the second chapter of his work *Contra Gentiles*—

"do not agree with us as to the authority of any Scripture by which they may be convinced, as we can argue against the Jews by means of the Old Testament and against the heretics by means of the New. These men do not receive either. Therefore we must have recourse to natural reason, for to this all are compelled to yield their assent, though it is deficient as regards divine matters."

None the less, the Unitarian will agree with the Catholic in confessing the need of prayer to God and

of lowliness in His presence, that the soul may attain the union and communion with God which are necessary for a knowledge of the supernatural. In this matter I can bear witness to the piety as well as to the sincerity of real Unitarians. Quite recently one of them wrote to me, saying, "I have little doubt God will deal very tenderly with all our blind gropings after Him." And those words were written by one of the truest men with whom I have the honour of being acquainted.

The Catholic and the Unitarian can now approach the study of Apologetics, the Propædeutics, or Introduction to Sacred Theology. The Books of the New Testament naturally form the first subject of inquiry; and it is interesting to note that a century of investigation and hypotheses is ending its labours with a confession of the traditional view as to the authorship of the books. A purely rationalist method has vindicated St. Luke's authorship of the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles. One of the most distinguished Unitarians, Dr. Drummond, has confirmed the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel.

In 1903 he published the results of his inquiry into the *Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*; and as to the external evidence of Johannine authorship, he concludes (p. 351) that "it possesses great weight, and, if it stood alone, would entitle the traditional view to our acceptance." Having surveyed the internal structure of the Gospel, he says (p. 384) that "we meet with a great number of facts which are such as we should expect if the traditional account of the authorship be true." But "when we unite the two bodies of evidence, and remember the cumulative character of each, it seems to me that we have an amount of proof of the Johannine authorship which ought to command our assent, unless very strong evidence can be produced upon the other side." The objections are then examined by the learned Principal of Manchester College, the Unitarians' College at Oxford. He decides (p. 514) that "a number of the difficulties which have been pressed against the conclusion thus indicated melt away on nearer examination, and those which remain are not sufficient to weigh down the balance. In literary questions we cannot look for demonstration, and where

opinion is so much divided we must feel some uncertainty in our conclusions ; but on weighing the arguments for and against to the best of my power, I must give my own judgement in favour of the Johannine authorship."

The question of miracles is next raised; and a representative of the rationalist method, Harnack, writes in his *Christianity and History*, p. 63:

"Much that was formerly rejected has been re-established on a close investigation, and in the light of comprehensive experience. Who in these days, for example, could make such short work of the miraculous cures in the Gospels as was the custom of scholars formerly?"

But the miracles are not those of the Gospels alone. There are nineteen centuries of miracles, which cannot be explained away by a phrase or a sweeping assertion. And before our Lord's works and the martyrs' endurance witnessed to the supernatural, there were centuries of prophecy. The history of the Jewish nation and the Christian Church must therefore be studied with the purpose of finding their essential elements, a work that demands more acquaintance with original documents than with the interesting but passing speculations of this or that professor. The History of Religions provides a remarkable foil for that of Israel and the Church. And the candid study of the Catholic Church, as she stands before the world to-day, her relation to poverty and ignorance as well as to wealth and learning, the harmony of her doctrine with our highest needs and noblest hopes and deepest thoughts, and the holiness manifest in those who live her life, may well be held to witness for supernatural truth and power. It was a Unitarian minister, the Rev. Henry Gow, who said in his sermon on a "Unitarian View of Roman Catholicism," preached in September 1908, that—

"Anyone who knows something of Ireland or of the more pious parts of France sees the power of Roman Catholicism and must admire some of its results. The people live in an

atmosphere of religion which we look at with wonder and almost with shame. The Saints and the Virgin Mary are so real to them, so much a part of their lives. They speak and think of the unseen world so naturally and simply."

The Limitation of the Unitarian Method

But beyond Philosophy and Propædeutics the Catholic takes a step, natural reason being incompetent as a guide. Vergil could lead through hell and purgatory, but it was for Beatrice to unfold the spheres of heaven. So Dante pictured forth what St. Thomas Aquinas had taught in the first article of his *Summa Theologiæ*, that Philosophy deals with those things which are knowable by the light of natural reason, and that there is also another science of those things which are known by the light of Divine revelation. In regard to this, the Vatican decree on Faith and Reason speaks of truths known by Divine faith, that is, by a supernatural grace. Of those truths, it says they could not be known unless they had been divinely revealed. As to reason, illumined by faith, it can attain a deeper knowledge of its own sphere as well as of the connection the revealed mysteries have with one another and with the final end of man. But even so, urges the decree, those mysteries must remain enveiled in faith so long as we are pilgrims, walking by faith and not by sight. And the mysteries, to which the decree refers, include such subjects as the Ever-Blessed Trinity, Original Sin, Grace, the Sacraments, the Supernatural Virtues, the Nature of Sin, and the Last Things. In Catholic philosophy, then, the natural light of reason deals with the highest principles naturally known. In Catholic theology the supernatural light of faith deals with truths supernaturally revealed.

The world of the Catholic mysteries lies beyond the reach of natural reason ; and the Catholic feels no surprise when he finds rationalist solutions of those

mysteries unequal to their explanation. But he is entitled to presume that the proposed solutions or objections are based on adequate knowledge. Since the Unitarian cannot follow the way of supernatural faith, he ought to be the more careful of its accurate representation in his criticism, especially as his traditions of scholarship ought to render him incapable of the cheap libels with which more reckless sectarians assail the Catholic Church.

Indeed, it suggests some deficiency when the method of natural reason is abandoned in order to make such an attack. For example, the collection of essays which leading Unitarian ministers issued in 1907 under the title of *Authority in Religious Belief*, is prefaced by a quotation from Dr. Martineau's *Seat of Authority in Religion*. Those who have studied that distinguished writer's *Types of Ethical Theory* and his *Study of Religion*, and those who have applauded his successful warfare with the agnosticism, atheism, and materialism of his day, will hardly believe that he could have written such a parody of the Catholic Faith, and composed such a caricature of its origins as we find in the following sentences:

> "From the fable of Eden to the imagination of the last trumpet, the whole story of the Divine order of the world is dislocated and deformed. The blight of birth-sin with its involuntary perdition; the scheme of expiatory redemption with its vicarious salvation; the incarnation with its low postulates of the relation between God and man, and its unworkable doctrine of two natures in one person; the official transmission of grace through material elements in the keeping of a consecrated corporation; the second coming of Christ to summon the dead and part the sheep from the goats at the general judgement—all are the growth of a mythical literature, or Messianic dreams, or Pharisaic theology, or sacramental superstition, or popular apotheosis."

According to the Catholic doctrine, no one is lost except by his own deliberate act of turning away from God. And the Church, whatever may have been the opinion of a few among the many million members of

her communion, has never taught that unbaptized infants are in hell. All the natural happiness of which they are capable will be theirs, but not theirs the supernatural blessedness promised to the Church, of which they are not members. And our dependence upon others in this matter is analogous to what we find in every other province of our life, however inconsistent it may be with the various universes bodied forth by individualist imaginations. As to adults, salvation will not be ours without anything on our part. Nor can the doctrine of the Incarnation, in which so many very wise and very holy men have seen the revelation of God's wisdom and goodness, be described as unworkable and dependent on low postulates. Very different is the language of another Unitarian minister, the Rev. W. Channing Gannett, in an essay he contributed in 1906 to a volume of replies to the question *What do Unitarians Believe and Teach?*

"It was," he writes (p. 187), "an immense equipment of faith for Europe to start on the stormy centuries that followed the break-up of the Roman Empire with a good God as solid-sure as incarnation had made Him."

A detailed criticism of Dr. Martineau's work on the *Seat of Authority in Religion* is not at present within my province. Those who are interested in the questions it raises may easily compare his replies with those of Catholic text-books on Holy Scripture and Catholic doctrine, or with those of various pamphlets published by the Catholic Truth Society. But it may be permitted to express disappointment that a man of Dr. Martineau's eminence could repeat the old objection that St. Paul's companions are described as hearing and as not hearing the Voice from heaven, for a reference to the Greek texts shows a difference in the constructions, so that the accounts are harmonized in the statement that the men heard the sound but did not recognize the words or the

Speaker. When Dr. Martineau wrote, it was well within the reach of students to know that the Galileo incident had no bearing on the infallibility of Church or Pope. And as to the Spanish Inquisition, Dr. Martineau does not distinguish between the policy and conduct of the Spanish Court, that of some Spanish Catholics, and that of the Holy See. Indeed, his reference is to Llorente, whose name is misspelt, as if Dr. Martineau was satisfied with the unsifted evidence of a man apparently unknown to him. Finally, in the criticism of the Gospels, it can hardly be held to illustrate the method of reason when a writer consents with a feeling of relief to reject a passage because the incident narrated would interfere with a view already taken of our Lord. These instances are perhaps sufficient to suggest that it is possible to exchange the method of human reason for an inferior procedure as well as for the superior way of reason illumined by supernatural faith.

The Forerunners of Unitarianism

It is unfortunate that Unitarianism has generally been presented to the world as the Mephistophelian spirit that denies. There is much to be done within the limits of human reason, and the mere utterance of objections expresses only the negative spirit of dissent. This element in its life Unitarianism inherited from its forerunners. For example, on the tomb of Faustus Socinus, who died in 1604, it was said that "Luther destroyed the roof of Babylon, Calvin overthrew its walls, and Socinus tore up the foundations." To pass in brief review the predecessors of the Unitarians will help us, then, to indicate more clearly the position of the Unitarians themselves and to distinguish them from such as the Arians and Socinians, with whom they are sometimes confused.

I

The Arians

About the year 270 Paul of Samosata was deposed from the bishopric of Antioch for denying the Deity of our Blessed Lord. His followers seized upon some expressions which Lucian of Antioch had employed against the Sabellians' heretical attempt to identify the Person of the Father with the Person of the Son. Then in 319, Arius, who was priest of the Baucalis church in Alexandria, and represented himself as holding Lucian's views, provoked the remonstrances of Alexander, his bishop, by his preaching. He himself states his doctrine clearly enough in a letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia. From this, preserved in Theodoret's *Church History* (i. 4), we translate:

"But as to us, what do we say and think and have we taught and do we teach? That the Son is not unbegotten, nor part of the Unbegotten, in any way, nor out of any substratum, but that he subsists by [God's] will and counsel before times and ages, fully God, Sole-begotten, unchangeable. And he was not before he was begotten or created or determined or founded. For he was not unbegotten. We are persecuted, because we said, 'The Son has a beginning, but God is without beginning.'"

Arius did not venture to say there was *a time* when the Son was not; but employing a more subtle expression, he said there was when He was not. And as Newman showed in his *Arians of the Fourth Century*, c. ii. § v., "The fundamental tenet of Arianism was that the Son of God was a creature."

Writing to Paulinus of Tyre, Eusebius of Nicomedia denied that the Son is of the Father's essence; and Eusebius of Cæsarea advocated a creed from which he had excluded any such description of the Son, and especially the word "homo-ousios," because it implies that the Son is consubstantial, that is, of the same essence with the Father, and therefore essentially God. The refusal became the badge of Arianism

and since the Son was confessed to be God, the position involved the worship of two Gods, one of them being a creature. It was a revival of polytheism. In this Arians bear no relation to Unitarians, nor in their demand for the retention of the discussion within the limits of Scriptural expressions.

St. Athanasius had no difficulty in showing that the Arians themselves, in employing such phrases as "there was when he was not," used terms unknown to the canonical books. And in the first of his *Orations Against the Arians* he adduces several testimonies of Holy Scripture to the Catholic doctrine. Turning, then, to the New Testament, we find the words of our Lord, as St John records them, x. 38:

> The Father is in me;
> And I am in the Father.

St. John's prologue had announced:

> All things became by means of Him;
> And apart from Him not even one thing became.

There is a further statement in the same chapter that

> No one has seen God at any time:
> The Only-begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father,
> He interpreted Him.

There are also our Lord's words recorded by St. Luke, x. 22:

> And no one knows who the Son is, except the Father;
> And who the Father is, except the Son;
> And him to whomsoever the Son wishes to reveal Him.

Then there is the opening sentence of St. John's Gospel:

> In the beginning was the Word;
> And the Word was with God;
> And the Word was God.

An effort has often been made to deprive the last clause of its force, because the word translated "God"

lacks the article. But there is another passage, in which the true text shows the same construction. Writing to the Philippians, St. Paul says (ii. 13):

> For he who works in you is God.

Now, no one suggests that the predicate there means someone who is somehow divine but not God. And beside those and other definite statements, there is the sentence of our Lord, as we find it in St. John's Gospel, x. 30:

> I and the Father are one.

II

The Humanists

At a later time, during the "Revival of Learning" in Western Europe after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, there was a renewal of the denial; and an attempt was made to alter the punctuation of St. Paul's words to the Roman Christians (ix. 5) in speaking of the Jews:

> Out of whom was the Christ, as regards the Flesh,
> Who is over all, God, blessed for ever.

In the original, the word for "God" lacks the article and so stands as the predicate of the relative clause, "who is God." Now a full stop was placed before the word for God; and the sentence was translated as if it meant that "the Christ is over all. God be blessed for ever." But in this case, the word for "God" would be the subject of the sentence, though it lacked the article, contrary to an elementary rule of Greek syntax.

There was much in the "Revival of Learning," the literary element of the Renaissance, which anticipated the individualist and critical spirit of Unitarianism. Few Unitarians would refuse to accept for themselves

Symonds' description of the "Revival of Learning," as we find it in his *Renaissance in Italy*, p. 13:

"The Revival of Learning, begun by Petrarch, was no mere renewal of interest in classic literature. It was the emancipation of the reason in a race of men, intolerant of control, ready to criticise accepted canons of conduct, enthusiastic in admiration of antique liberty, freshly awakened to the sense of beauty, and anxious above all things to secure for themselves free scope in spheres outside the region of authority. Men so vigorous and independent felt the joy of exploration. There was no problem they feared to face, no formula they were not eager to recast according to their new convictions. This liberty of judgement did not of necessity lead to lawlessness: nor in any case did it produce that insurgence against Catholic orthodoxy which marked the German Reformation."

This quotation would be too long, did it not seem to paraphrase much of what is said in favour of Unitarianism to-day. But it must not be understood that Unitarians in any way deserve the verdict Symonds pronounced on the whole Humanist movement when he wrote his essay on the Renaissance for the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xx. "Humanism," he declared, "in its revolt against the Middle Ages, was, as we have seen already, mundane, pagan, irreligious, positive."

As to the Unitarians, on the contrary, I can bear witness to their moral virtues and natural piety. They gain much by their aloofness from fashionable circles. If their religion has little for the poor and the ignorant, they themselves find little attraction in idle eccentricities and feminine ambitions. Intellectually keen they are, as the Jews are intellectually keen. And as among religious Jews, we sometimes meet among the Unitarians a beautiful though natural mysticism. A favourite hymn of theirs is Newman's "Lead, kindly Light"; and one man, a labourer, told me he never rose in the morning or lay down at night without a prayer that he might do God's will in life and death.

Unhappily, Jews, Humanists, and Unitarians have

often made such statements as pain Catholics more than pang of nerve or loss of life could do. In their vehemence against Christians in the second century, Jews uttered those foul slanders against our Blessed Lord and our Blessed Lady, which were afterwards included in the Talmudic commentary on the Oral Law, for example, in the treatise on the Sabbath. In the twelfth century first appeared the *Toldoth Yeshu*, or "Generations of Jesus"; and then were first mentioned the three Targums, or Aramaic paraphrases, of Esther. In the one, as in the Talmudic commentary, our Lord is called the "son of Pandera"; in the other, as Levy notes in his *Chaldee Dictionary of the Targums*, p. 330 of the German edition, Haman's genealogy is given as "the son of Hamditha the son of Pilate the son of Joseph the son of Jesus." It was clearly a blind passion that swayed such Jews. Yet the libel bears witness to the truth. "Pandera" was a modified form of "Panderos" or "Pantheros"; and, as it has been shown, "Pantheros" is a play by metathesis on the word "Parthenos," a virgin, our Lord being known as the son of the "Parthenos," or the Virgin. [*Pandera* is, however, a real name.—ED.]

The Humanists, for their part, steeped themselves in the ancient literatures of Greece and Rome, and expressed themselves in pagan phrases, till they confused the facts of the Divine Revelation with the fables of Greek and Roman mythology.

And Unitarians of our own day—for example, Dr. J. E. Carpenter and the Rev. W. G. Tarrant—in the *Bible in the Nineteenth Century* of the former, and in the *Unitarianism Re-stated* of the latter, have followed Renan in pointing out some superficial resemblances between three or four facts in early Christianity and three or four in the Bábist movement among the Persian Muhammadans.

Jew, Humanist, and Unitarian did not examine those questions sufficiently to distinguish things that

differ. Catholics, in such a case, would be without excuse; for they have been taught to discern between the natural and the supernatural, that is, between the activity of the creature and that of the Creator, for here we may employ the word "natural" as including also the præternatural activity of the angels. Plainly enough St. Paul wrote in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, ii. 14:

> But a natural man does not receive the things of the Spirit of God,
> For they are folly to him;
> And he cannot know,
> Because they are examined spiritually.

And the attitude of Catholics towards Jew, Humanist, and Unitarian, must be that of Him who prayed—

> Father, forgive them,
> For they do not know what they are doing.

III

The Socinians

If the Humanists anticipated much of the Unitarian spirit, it was the Socinians who in 1600 first described their religion by the name. But half a century before the Antitrinitarians of Transylvania took that step, the movement had made some progress in Poland, which the Siennese Lelio Sozini, better known as the elder Socinus, had visited in 1551. He was then passing from evangelical Protestantism to doubts regarding the resurrection and predestination. He was at Padua in October 1553 when the Protestant magistrates of Geneva burnt Serveto for Antitrinitarianism; and he now began to entertain doubts regarding the doctrine of the Most Holy Trinity. He did not, however, forfeit the friendship of Calvin, who gave him a letter of introduction in 1558, when he visited Cracow on account of his family's affairs.

His influence there soon became manifest; and in 1565 the Antitrinitarians formed a distinct body, having been excluded by the other Protestants. Three years afterwards, a similar body was formed in Transylvania. But both were internally divided into the Adorantes and the Non-adorantes—those who insisted on the worship of our Lord and those who refused it. The Polish division was closed by the influence of Fausto Sozzini, who went to Cracow in 1579 and remained in Poland till his death in 1604. His name is better known in its Latin form as Socinus: its Italian form he spelt differently from his uncle. He urged the Antitrinitarians to retain the worship of our Lord, and even sought, but in vain, to persuade the judaizing Bishop David to the same course.

The centre of Socinian influence was now the Polish Racow; and there the friends of Fausto Sozzini in 1605, a year after his death, published the *Racovian Catechism* in Polish. Three years later, it was translated into German, and then after a year into Latin, with a dedication to James I. of England. In this document the worship of our Blessed Lord is distinctly taught.

The 236th answer says: "We are held to acknowledge the Lord Jesus for God, that is, for Him who has divine power in our regard, and to whom we are bound to show divine honour." The 245th answer distinguishes Christ from God, saying: "We adore and worship God as the first cause of our salvation, and Christ as the second cause; or, as we may say with Paul, God as Him from whom are all things and Christ as Him through whom are all things." The next question asks: "What do you think of those men who do not invoke Christ, or think he is to be adored?" And the answer runs: "I think indeed they are not Christians, since they have not Christ. And though they dare not deny it in words, yet they do really deny it."

The Socinian did not deny the Virginal Conception of our Blessed Lord; and as to the Holy Scriptures, Fausto said in one of his letters (iii.) that he had read nothing in them which is not very true. Our Lord, he taught, had been raised into heaven before

commencing His ministry; and at His baptism, He was anointed by the Holy Ghost, whom Fausto Sozzini held to be a Divine energy. Our Lord's priesthood and atonement, as well as divine grace and the sacraments, were summarily rejected.

In 1652 John Bidle formed a Socinian congregation in London, but the enterprise lasted only two years. He himself wrote much; and having been prosecuted for his opinions, he was saved from the death penalty by Cromwell, who banished him instead to the Scilly Islands. In 1682, two Englishmen, claiming to represent "that sect of Christians that are called Unitarians," approached Ahmet ben Ahmet, the ambassador from Morocco, with "proposals of mutual recognition and friendly counsel," says Dr. Blunt in his *Dictionary of Sects*, the edition of 1891, p. 607, and that "on the ground that both held substantially the same belief," or, as Dr. Alexander Gordon says in his *Heads of English Unitarian History* (p. 23), "to win over Ben Ahmet to the Christian type of Unitarianism."

The name "Unitarian" was not yet, however, quite clearly defined, for Nye's *Brief History of the Unitarians, called also Socinians*, published in 1687, said that both Arians and Socinians were called Unitarians. Indeed, according to Dr. Gordon, the *Acts of Great Athanasius*, published in 1690, invited the reader to distinguish between Arian Unitarians, Bidellian Unitarians, and Socinian Unitarians. But Unitarianism, as the word is understood to-day, would exclude several elements in the Arian and Socinian creeds. Our Lord's pre-existence, virginal conception, miracles, and right to our worship, are denied; and the basis is definitely rationalist. Hence we find something much more like the Unitarianism of the present day when we pass from the Socinians of the seventeenth century to the Rationalists of the eighteenth.

IV

The Rationalists

No doubt, some would prefer to regard the Presbyterians as the immediate predecessors of the Unitarians, especially as some Unitarians in 1824 claimed the title of English Presbyterians, and ten years later formed an Association under that name. Indeed, it is under the title of English Presbyterians that Unitarians have since 1836 had the privilege of direct approach to the British sovereign. But this is to ignore the share of the Independents and that of the Baptists. Speaking on this subject, the Rev. Walter Lloyd says in his book on *Protestant Dissent and English Unitarianism*, p. 82:

"A number of old congregations, originally Calvinist, became Arminian, and finally Unitarian. It is the custom to describe all these old congregations as Presbyterian, and to assume that the credit of this development is due to them exclusively. As a matter of fact, many of these congregations were Independent or Baptist; to some extent the Baptist origin is still remembered, but the Independents are forgotten and classed as Presbyterians."

It has therefore been suggested that Unitarians should be traced to the three sects described collectively as Protestant Dissenters. This would ignore the Anglican share, of which Unitarianism retains many vestiges in some of its buildings and formularies. The surplice is not altogether unknown. The pulpit, prayer-desk, lectern, communion table, communion rails, and the general appearance of the place sometimes suggest an Anglican church in Evangelical hands. The first prayer-book of the English Unitarians was a revised form of the Anglican. At a later time, the *Ten Services of Public Prayer* became popular; but the first two were based on the Anglican Morning and Evening Prayer, and the others followed the same outline. At present 111 of the British and Irish congregations use such

service-books. The remaining 263 apparently have none; many of these follow an order in which we can perceive an Anglican origin. They have an organ voluntary, opening sentences and a short prayer, a hymn, a Scripture reading, a canticle, a second Scripture reading, an anthem or hymn, prayer, a hymn, the sermon, an organ voluntary and the offertory, notices, a hymn, benediction and a final organ voluntary.

I adopt the term "the Rationalists," because it is necessary to find some name which will include the Latitudinarians, or Freethinkers as they were sometimes called, of the Establishment, as well as the Antitrinitarians among the Dissenters, and those who stood outside both. And it seems appropriate to speak of those men as the Rationalists, for the Arianism and the Socinianism, as well as the Deism of the time, showed a tendency to reject the miraculous and to make human reason the sole principle. As in the doctrine of the sophist Protagoras, man was becoming the measure of all things.

In 1660 Charles Blount attacked the Scripture miracles in his notes to the *Two First Books of Philostratus on the Life and Miracles of Apollonius of Tyana.* After his suicide, his work on the *Oracles of Reason* was published by a friend. That was in 1693, the same year that saw John Toland's *Christianity not Mysterious, a Discourse shewing there is nothing in the Gospel contrary to reason nor above it, and that no Christian doctrine can be properly called a Mystery.* And two years later, John Locke issued his *Reasonableness of Christianity as delivered in the Scriptures*; but it was a Christianity which consisted in simply confessing our Lord to be the Messiah. In 1700 the General Baptist Assembly showed the trend of English Protestantism by allowing ministers of the sect to hold Antitrinitarian views. And this tendency became evident in the Establishment in 1708, when

the Cambridge professor Whiston defended Arianism in his *Essay on the Apostolical Constitutions*, and in 1712, when another Anglican, Dr. Samuel Clarke, published his work on the *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*. Clarke's book was certainly Arian, for he denied that the Son is self-existent, and therefore represented Him as a creature. Whiston was deposed; but Clarke, like others in his own day and in ours, continued to hold his Anglican appointment. About that time Bishop Hoadly countenanced what men of the world would account dishonesty in regard to the Thirty-nine Articles, and discountenanced creeds as Popery.

Two dissenting ministers were charged with holding Clarke's opinions; and the debate made memorable a meeting of Presbyterians, Baptists, and Independents or Congregationalists at Salters' Hall in London in 1719. The general result of the conference was the view that each congregation ought to judge for itself what doctrine might be preached in its pulpit. The Presbyterians in the north of Ireland were moving in the same direction; and in 1726 twelve congregations with their ministers, known as the "New Lights," who would not sign the Westminster Confession of Faith, were excluded, and formed an Antitrinitarian group.

In the following year, Woolston, an Anglican clergyman and Fellow of Sidney Sussex College at Cambridge, began a series of six letters, which he bound together as a *Discourse on the Miracles of our Saviour*. It was an attempt to rationalise all Scripture by representing it as composed of allegories. Tried for blasphemy, Woolston was unable to find sureties, and died in prison. In November 1731 Swift wrote against him, saying:

> "He does an honour to his gown,
> By bravely running priestcraft down.
> He shows as sure as God's in Glo'ster,
> That Moses was a grand imposter;
> That all his miracles were cheats,
> Performed as jugglers do their feats."

Much more effective, as in better taste and judgement, was the reply given to these and other questions of his time by Bishop Butler in the *Analogy of Religion* he published in 1736.

Summing up his argument in the "Conclusion," he claimed to have proved that "the whole, then, of religion is throughout credible," nor did he think there was "anything relating to the revealed dispensation of things more different from the experienced constitution and course of nature, than some parts of the constitution of nature are from other parts of it. And if so, the only question which remains is, what positive evidence can be alleged for the truth of Christianity. This, too, in general, has been considered, and the objections against it estimated."

But Deism was in fashion. The world was pictured by the imagination as a machine, so God was represented as a watchmaker, who had put the mechanism together, wound it up, and watched it while it was working according to its laws. At a later time Carlyle and Heine made merry with the conceit. In the middle of the eighteenth century it was of serious import for Protestants. According to Lecky's *History of England* (ii. p. 535), the Oxford authorities issued a notice regarding the spread of Deism among the students. Ten years later, in 1739, the doctrine was gaining ground at Cambridge.

Many Unitarian congregations claim to have held the Antitrinitarian tradition unbroken from the middle of the eighteenth century. Some then described themselves as "only Christians," a term defined by Dr. John Taylor in a sermon at the Octagon Chapel of Norwich in 1756. "This edifice," he said, "is founded upon no party principles or tenets, but is built on purpose and with this very design, to keep ourselves clear from them all." Practically, this attitude was what is known to-day as Undenominationalism or Cowper-Templeism. A similar spirit among Anglicans found expression in Archdeacon Blackburne's *Confessional*, published in 1766. He desired to abolish the necessity of subscribing to any form of

belief; and in 1772, many Anglican clergymen and laymen petitioned Parliament that they might be relieved from the obligation of assenting to the Thirty-nine Articles. Two years afterwards, in 1774, the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey resigned his parish at Catterick; and at Essex Street, in London, he opened the first Unitarian chapel in England.

Unitarian Religion

Lindsey gathered a congregation of Anglicans and Dissenters, who named themselves Unitarians, as worshippers of the Father only. It is the strict meaning of the term, as distinguished from the wider sense in which it includes Arians and Socinians. "And now," writes the Rev. Walter Lloyd in 1899, "for more than a hundred years Unitarian worship has been understood in Lindsey's sense." But it must not be supposed from these words that the nineteenth century never saw a revolution in Unitarianism.

In 1869, Dr. Martineau, addressing the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, spoke of three stages in Unitarian theology. Priestley's Necessarianism he described as a religion of Causation, which presented the relation of the creature to the Creator. Channing's view of moral freedom formed a religion of Conscience. The third stage was marked by his own insistence on the spiritual union of man with God through prayer and self-sacrifice. This he named the "religion of the Spirit," a title afterwards borrowed by some French Modernists for their own doctrine. But to Unitarianism there has come a fourth stage, pantheistic, and employing dogmatically the phrase Dr. Martineau employed rhetorically, when he in the same address became eloquent regarding what he called "the common essence of man and God."

At first Unitarians lived under the influence of

Priestley, who held necessarian views; and at that time Unitarianism could be described as Deist. But the works of the American Channing, those of Parker, Tayler, and Thom, and especially the preaching of Martineau, produced a great change. Writing on "Unitarianism" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth edition, vol. xxiii., the Rev. J. F. Smith says: "Without at all sacrificing its critical and rational bent, a deeper emotional and spiritual element was introduced into it, which gradually, at the cost of some years of internal conflict, dispossessed the purely external and supernaturalistic Socinian and Priestleian legacy." Deism now gave way to Theism, which confessed the activity of God in the world. The necessarian doctrine yielded before the acknowledgement of free-will. And the world was no longer to be explained as a machine.

At that time the doctrines of the popular New Theology and academic Modernism began to be formulated among Unitarians; and call the attitude what we will, it is really the fourth phase of Unitarianism. Writing a second preface for his *Study of Religion* in 1889, Dr. Martineau (p. xxiv) explained Religion in one sense as "a class-name for all human mythologies in their unanalyzed state"; but in another sense he found that the essence of Religion was "in Reverence directed on the Real Source of the phenomenal world"; and he could not therefore but identify Religion with "Ethical Theism." It was this sense of the word "which," said he (p. xxvi) "enables me to treat 'Religion' as one thing everywhere; which relieves me from the necessity of pursuing all the phenomena covered by the word in its other sense, and imposes on me the obligation of looking behind the facts of human psychology to the Divine Realities which they express."

There we have plainly enough the denial of an objective Revelation, and a reliance upon subjective

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experience alone. Three years before, in May 1886, the Western Unitarian Conference of the United States by an overwhelming majority decided its basis should be purely ethical and non-theological. Two other elements would complete the modernist provision and furnish Modernism and the New Theology. The one is Pantheism, and the other an imposition of new meanings on the ancient creeds. Martineau himself could not have any sympathy with either. His keen appreciation of causal and ethical principles saved him from Pantheism, and his sterling honesty prevented his attempting to prevaricate. Other men have not been so careful or so scrupulous. One tells us that "God and man are in essence one." It must follow that man is God. The writer confesses that he knows all his doctrine on the subject is pantheistic; and adds, "Well, let it be so." He rejoices over St. Athanasius' victory because, he urges, it "made the unity of God and man real." "This," he adds, with utter indifference to the historical fact, "was in truth the great point at issue, the unity of God and man, not the unity of God with Christ as an individual." And we are told all this as if the Catholic doctrine defined at Nicæa was not as clearly distinguishable from the pantheism of the Modernist as from the polytheism of the Arian.

More recently some Unitarians, in an effort to popularise their views, have composed a document in the form of a creed. It runs:

"We believe in the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, the leadership of Jesus, salvation by character, the progress of mankind onward and upward forever. We accept the religion of Jesus, holding, in accordance with his teaching, that practical religion is summed up in love to God and love to man. In the love of truth and the spirit of Jesus we unite for the worship of God and the service of man."

In all this there is no recognition of the Atonement, the supernatural Revelation, the Divine Incarnation,

the Church, or Sacramental Grace. The general terms and undefined aspirations in this docunent may take concrete form according to the taste and inclination of each congregation; but even then it could not be made a condition of membership.

Unitarian Organizations

Aware that their position must lack the fashionableness of the Establishment and the popularity of Dissent, Unitarians have sought rather to spread their opinions among the Protestant sects than to recruit their own congregations. Of their singular success in this enterprise an example is presented in a recent number of *The Inquirer*, the leading Unitarian newspaper. On Tuesday, the 27th of October 1908, the Unitarians at Gee Cross celebrated the two-hundredth anniversary of their chapel. An Anglican rector was present and spoke "of the affinity there was in essential things between Unitarians and other Christians." Of the three Congregationalist ministers at the meeting, one brought the congratulations of his congregation.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Unitarian organizations are generally formed for the purpose of spreading booklets and pamphlets illustrative of Unitarianism. During the year 1906 the British and Foreign Unitarian Association alone distributed 104,872 tracts in free grants. Of newspapers and magazines there are four in England, four in France, four in Hungary, four in America, three in India, three in Germany, two in Switzerland, one in Denmark, and one in Japan. Nor is the work confined to men. The women have formed a Postal Mission with local secretaries, who advertise gifts of Unitarian pamphlets in order

"to spread a knowledge of Unitarian faith, principles, and thought, by correspondence, distribution of literature, or any other means which the Society may from time to time think fit."

There is also the Hibbert Trust, the income of which

"is directed to be applied by the trustees in such manner as they in their uncontrolled discretion shall from time to time deem most conducive to the spread of Christianity in its most simple and intelligible form, and to the unfettered exercise of private judgement in matters of religion."

In accordance with this, the trustees provided a course of Hibbert Lectures. They have also published or assisted in publishing books and essays. They have granted divinity scholarships and fellowships, and maintain two Lectureships in Manchester College at Oxford, the one on Comparative Religion and the other on Metaphysics and the Philosophical Bases of Religion. *The Hibbert Journal* is published with their sanction and support, though they decline any responsibility for opinions expressed in it. There is also the Sunday School Association to promote Unitarian Sunday Schools and to publish Unitarian books suitable for the young.

Naturally the pulpits are important instruments for the spreading of Unitarian opinions. North America possessed 478 such means last year, 1908. There were nearly 120 in 1812, about 122 in 1825, increasing to 280 in 1845, and to 335 in 1871. The census of 1851 reported 229 congregations in England and Wales, and according to the Unitarian Calendar for 1871, the number had then increased to about 380 congregations and mission-stations. At the present time there are 374 places for Unitarian worship in Great Britain and Ireland. Of these, 293 are in England, 39 in Ireland, 35 in Wales, and 7 in Scotland. Transylvania contained more than 400 Socinian congregations in the sixteenth century, but only 106 Unitarian congregations in 1871. And to-day all Hungary includes only 116 Unitarian congregations with regular ministers, besides fifty places where occasional services are held by the minister of the neighbouring congregation.

It is true that elsewhere there are congregations

fully Unitarian in opinion; but the name of Unitarian is practically confined to Hungary, the British Empire, and North America. In all Africa there is only the Capetown congregation, sprung from the Dutch Reformed Church. For all Asia there are two centres in India and one in Japan. There are three in Australia, two in New Zealand, and one in Tasmania. There are seven in Canada. And as to Continental Europe, there is one in Belgium, one in Denmark, one in Hamburg, and one in Norway. I have not included the Liberal Reformed congregations, nor the "Spanish Evangelical Church," which, it may surprise some of its Anglican supporters to learn, includes some Protestant congregations "of an unmistakably liberal type." But from the statistics of the organized and definitely Unitarian congregations it would appear that the number of such congregations is 989, that is, less than one thousand.

It is noteworthy that the 374 congregations in Great Britain and Ireland maintain a British and Foreign Unitarian Association and 23 District Associations, nine Ministers' Conferences, a Sunday School Association and 21 District Sunday School Societies, a Central Postal Mission with nineteen Local Postal Missions and Unitarian Circles, and eight Lay Preachers' Unions. Though thirty-nine funds exist to help the education or sustenance or widows or children of ministers, there are only five funds to help the poor. Of the latter, one educates orphans of Irish Unitarians; another distributes £1890 a year among ninety-six unmarried ladies over 55 years of age; another provides for four unmarried ladies; another furnishes the income from a capital of about £11,000 for ladies of reduced means, two-thirds of the recipients being Unitarians and the rest Catholics; and the fifth affords about £1000 a year to support some almshouses, assist twenty poor people, benefit one of the Unitarian ministers, and maintain a student for the ministry.

"Unitarians," however, as a leading Unitarian minister writes to me, "do not much believe in helping the poor denominationally; and so they contribute to civic and public charities. The domestic missions in London, Manchester, Liverpool, Bristol, Leicester, Leeds, and elsewhere, are devoted to helping the poor."

Conclusion

Unitarianism has passed through four phases within a century. The first was due to Priestley's influence, the second to Channing's, and the third to Martineau's. The fourth has been Modernist. Already a fifth is becoming evident. This will be Pragmatist; and Unitarians may well pause to consider its effect upon their congregations as well as its contrast with the traditional character of their pulpits.

It is not surprising that a rejection of dogma should produce a continual flux of opinion, and lead even Unitarian intellectualism to a Pragmatist despair of intellect. Doctrines will be explained as rules found serviceable in action; utility will be regarded as the criterion of truth; and for a time the affirmations of Natural Religion will be retained as probable but not certain. In America especially, Unitarians are becoming hostile to ordered and systematic thought in their emphasis upon effort and conduct. One of them describes himself as content with a simple faith in the Eternal Goodness in order to fortify and sustain himself in his best efforts. Truly, the rejection of doctrine is becoming the sole doctrine.

Unitarianism has had little attraction for the active and the imaginative. To its students Modernism is opening other pulpits. For itself, it will retain its buildings and endowments; but the loss of its intellectual character will involve the loss of its prestige and characteristic members.

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Regarding Revealed Religion :—Hettinger's *Revealed Religion.* Lightfoot's *Essays on Supernatural Religion.* Clancy and Schobel's translation of *A Christian Apology*, by Schanz, 3 vols. Zigliara's *Propædeutics* (Latin). *The Dictionary of Apologetics* (French), now in course of publication. Newman's *Grammar of Assent.* Fontaine's *Theology of the New Testament* (French).

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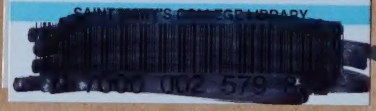
Perhaps I may be allowed to add *A Pilgrim of Eternity, the Story of a Unitarian Minister*, published by the Catholic Truth Society, and my article on the "Last Things" in the *Irish Theological Quarterly Review* for July 1908. In April 1909 the same review will contain my notes on the "Present State of Unitarianism."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